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LETTERS

OF

RICHARD D. ARNOLD, M.D.

1808-1876

Mayor of Savannah, Georgia
First Secretary of the American Medical
Association

Edited by RICHARD H. SHRYOCK
Duke University

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LETTERS
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BY
RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

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PREFACE

In August, 1854, a number of cases of yellow fever—genuine “Yellow Jack”—were discovered in Savannah, Georgia. Other cases followed, at first sporadically, then in increasing numbers. People began to die of the dreaded “Black Vomit”, and there was an hysterical call for doctors. Then the doctors began to die.

Two months later Dr. Richard Arnold of that city made the following laconic report to his daughter, safely located at the North: “Thank God, I am quite well. . . . For fully six weeks my average sleep was about four and a half hours in the 24, & I was in my buggy except for my meals from six o’clock in the morning to 12 midnight & often until toward one in the morning. May I ever give thanks to Almighty God who sustained me in this arduous task.”

Who will attempt to measure the service which these older physicians performed for their communities? They did not talk “service” so much in those days; they simply gave it. Strange, is it not, that the medical men who sometimes risked their lives for their poorest patients have been so generally forgotten, while other leaders of their day, who rarely risked more than position or patronage, have been immortalized? This distortion of values was realized by an occasional critic, even in antebellum days, long before the prophets of a “new history” had condemned our neglect of social and scientific records. When Dr. Arnold visited Philadelphia, the year following the epidemic noted, the fame of his services on that occasion preceded him, and the editor of the *North American* philosophized as follows: “There is such a constant tendency to glorify the men who fight our battles and who lead our Senates, that the heroes of the more quiet professions are almost entirely forgotten. Let us honor one of these latter in the person of Dr. Arnold. . . . ”

It is with the purpose of thus honoring one of the heroes of the more quiet professions, in the person of Dr. Arnold, that these selections from his correspondence have been prepared. It seems better to let this man speak for himself, rather than to efface him in a biography. That he was by no means “quiet” in a personal sense, that he was indeed something of a politician and an editor, as well as a physician, adds to rather than de-

tracts from, the interest of his letters. These relate, indeed, to nearly every phase of urban life in the South, and reveal the remarkable range of his interests and activities.

The letters were all written by Dr. Arnold personally and are taken from his letter books, which he began to keep with a system of double entry in 1834, and are here reproduced by the kind permission of their present owner, Dr. Arnold's granddaughter, Miss Margaret A. Cosens, of Savannah. The only exceptions to this are, first, the letter written February 8, 1865, to W. H. Baldwin, of Boston, which is reprinted from a contemporary pamphlet, as noted in the citation; and, second, the two informal addresses made in Boston, in 1860, which Dr. Arnold delivered as Acting President of the last National Sanitary Convention. These are taken from the *Proceedings* of that gathering. The letters relating to medical subjects, and marked with an "M", are reprinted by permission from the *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital*, XLII. 156-184, 213-239, (Mar. and April, 1928); but such letters of this medical collection as were only of technical interest, are not here reprinted. Unless otherwise noted, all the letters were written from Savannah.

It is customary to decry selections from manuscript material, for the obvious reason that the process of selection is necessarily a subjective one. It is, however, patently impossible to reprint all of a great mass of correspondence, much of which could make no appeal to any age whose interests were even remotely akin to our own. In such a case, the only alternatives are to publish selections, or to publish nothing at all. The selections here given were made in terms of what seemed most significant to the political, medical, and social history of the South during the period of Dr. Arnold's career.

The identification of proper names has been placed in foot notes; likewise such statements as seemed necessary to an intelligent reading of the text. The editor does not agree with the opinion of an able committee on editorial procedure, recently published, to the effect that all notes identifying persons etc., should be relegated to the preface or the index. With two or three exceptions, there are no cross-references added, and an effort has been made to avoid projecting editorial ideas into the notes. Occasional lapses from this rule, as in the case of the comment on the National Sanitary Convention of 1860, seem justifi-

able in view of a common lack of information on the subjects concerned. The usual procedure has been followed of changing punctuation, capitalization, etc., only where it seemed necessary for the sake of clearness.

I am indebted to my wife, Rheva Ott Shryock, for assistance in preparing transcripts; to Mr. William Harden, Secretary of the Georgia Historical Society, for aid in the identification of persons named in the letters; and to my aunt, Laura E. Chipman, formerly of the Philadelphia Normal School, and my colleague, Professor W. K. Boyd, for editorial assistance. I am also indebted to the American Historical Association for the grant of the Beveridge Fund during 1928-1929, which grant enabled me to devote the necessary time to the preparation of these papers.

A brief biographical statement concerning Richard D. Arnold, and a single suggestion as to the more significant aspects of his letters, may be added in conclusion. The child of Northerners, who moved to Savannah about the end of the eighteenth century, born (1808) in that semi-tropical city, he seems to have been endowed with greater energy than most of his forebearers in colder climes. Elementary education was acquired from tutors in Savannah. He later attended a private academy near his mother's old home at New Brunswick, N. J., graduated at Princeton in 1826, and then took his M. D. at the University of Pennsylvania. He was subsequently resident at the Pennsylvania Hospital. Thus he spent his youth largely in the North, and he formed there, especially in Philadelphia, personal and professional associations which were to exert a lasting influence upon him.

He returned home to Savannah in 1832 to take up private practice. In this first lean year he found time to purchase and edit a newspaper, the *Savannah Georgian*, and in this way acquired an interest in politics which he never lost. He came in due time to hold every position of importance which the city had to offer, serving for many years as alderman, as president of the board of education, and for six terms as mayor. He was mayor, for instance, during the last trying years of the Civil War, and surrendered the city to General Sherman, when the latter offered it as his famous "Christmas present" to President Lincoln in '64. He also represented his county in both houses of

the State legislature. Although in close touch with some of the national leaders of the Democracy, he was prevented from entering the wider field of national politics by the demands of his professional practice.

Arnold was something of a literary man, as well as a fluent speaker, wrote political essays on such subjects as sovereignty and nullification, and was a constant contributor to the local press. A somewhat skeptical thinker in religious matters, he was a leader in Savannah of a far-flung outpost of Unitarianism which had Boston as an intellectual base,— an unusual man, in this respect, for his day and generation in the South.

His medical practice grew steadily in the thirties, and he became active in all fields of interest to his profession. To this he always gave first consideration, viewing his political concerns as "mere episodes, not to be followed out." The medical letters which follow reveal him: (1) as a man of keen mind, making original studies of the Southern fevers, (2) as an earnest worker for the improvement of his profession and of medical education through the formation of local, state and national associations, (3) as a leading physician of his section, so recognized in the best medical centers at the North, (4) as a successful practitioner, able to "book" as much as twenty-five hundred dollars in one month alone in 1846, and (5) as a remarkably hard and unselfish worker.

The range of Dr. Arnold's varied activities was perhaps responsible for his continued interest in the public health. As mayor, alderman, chairman of state and municipal boards, state representative, etc., he had unusual opportunities to advocate such governmental health measures as his medical knowledge indicated were desirable. He was, indeed, one of the pioneer leaders in the early American public health movement, and was so recognized when he served as Acting President of the last National Sanitary Convention, held at Boston in 1860. That, in addition to this honor, he had also served as one of the first two secretaries of the American Medical Association, is a rather striking tribute to the professional position of one who described himself as "a mere provincial, a kind of outside professional Barbarian."

Dr. Arnold was very human and had his faults, some of which may appear as the reader proceeds. There would seem to

be no occasion, however, to dilate upon them here. Both his health and his professional interests suffered as a result of the War Between the States, during which he was in charge of the Confederate Hospital in Savannah. He maintained his political interests, as well as his practice, however, through the Reconstruction decade; and his close connections with influential Northern people were of considerable service to his city in that trying period.

Indeed, the picture of cultural connections between Savannah and the northern ports, which his letters afford throughout, is one of their most significant features. It suggests, not the general "Eastern" sectionalism which historians usually recognize in this period, but the persistence of an even more restricted sort of coast-line sectionalism, based upon common colonial traditions, and the relatively intimate communication afforded by marine transportation. Dr. Arnold, and many of the other "people of consequence" in Savannah, felt at home in New York and Philadelphia. They were strangers in an alien land—culturally speaking—fifty miles up-country in their own State! The very interesting manner (described below in the letters of 1865) in which the great Northern cities rushed to Savannah's aid, while the War was still in progress, can be understood only in the light of this coast-line sectionalism.

Incidentally, in the process of illustrating the close connections existing between the northern and southern ports, the letters also picture an urban culture common to both sections. When historians of the South begin to give the same careful attention to her urban centers of trade and culture that they have to some of her agricultural institutions, it will doubtless appear that the North and South had more in common than has generally been supposed.

Dr. Arnold died in 1876, in the same room in which he was born. In the range of his interests and achievements, he deserves a place with those other medical leaders, such as Rush, Holmes, S. Weir Mitchell, and Billings, whose versatility and services earned the admiration of their times.



RICHARD D. ARNOLD

THE LETTERS

M

To Thomas Spalding, Esq.¹

Dear Sir,

Sept. 14, 1834.

Presuming that you would be anxious about your son Charles' negro property since we have had the "scourge of nations" in our vicinity, I have taken the liberty of addressing you a few lines.

You have learned from the newspapers that the cholera broke out at Major Wightman's plantation² ten miles above the city two weeks ago. The disease was evidently of local origin, for it had existed in no place nearer than Virginia or Tennessee.³ For several days no case occurred on any other plantation, but the calm was deceitful. At the end of four days cases of the same description occurred at several plantations on the river and came *down* the river visiting the plantations successively and making a dreadful mortality among the poor Blacks. About eight days ago it appeared at Col. Meyers'⁴ at whose place I attend. It swept off four of his negroes. Although prepared by *description* for the disease I felt stunned by its rapid course. Hearing the physicians who had attended the disease up the river laud in high terms opium and camphor, I was induced to use them. An attentive observation has convinced me that their indiscriminate employment is not negatively useless but *positively dangerous*.⁵ In two cases I stopped the *discharge* but not the *disease*. Believing that your son's plantation could not escape, I had everything prepared and gave instructions that the negroes should report themselves on the very first symptoms of any disarrangement of the bowels. I must bear testi-

¹ A planter living on Sapelo Island, McIntosh County; a member of Congress. 1805-6; cf. U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in The Old South*, p. 199.

² An overseer's account of the epidemic at Major Wightman's plantation is given in the Milledgeville *Federal Union*, Sept. 17, 1834, reprinted in U. B. Phillips, (ed.) *Plantation and Frontier*, I. 315, 316.

³ Dr. Arnold was inclined to ascribe cholera, as well as yellow fever, to local origins. Nevertheless, this was the period of the first Cholera pandemic. The disease originated in India, in 1817, spread slowly along trade routes, reached southern Russia about 1823, the Baltic ports, 1831, and Gt. Britain, 1832. It appeared in various parts of Europe and America during the next five years.

⁴ Colonel Mordecai Meyers, a planter, and well-known member of the important Jewish group in Savannah.

⁵ Medical opinion in Glasgow and Dublin had favored the use of opium, in 1832; while it had been condemned in London.

mony to the very great care and attention of Mr. Gould¹ in carrying this plan into effect. I knew, and I impressed it upon him, that the great art was promptness of action, for a few hours suffered to elapse, will precipitate the patient into a fatal collapse, from which medical care in vain tries to rouse him.

On Friday morning the disease appeared at your Son's. Up to this time (Sunday 8 1/2 P. M.) there have been nineteen cases. I have the satisfaction to add but *one* death has occurred, an old & infirm one eyed negro named Polydore. I suppose that the detail of treatment would not prove interesting to you. Since so far the mortality is unprecedentedly small, I will merely add that I have not used a grain of Opium or a drop of Camphor on your Son's Place. I have thus hurriedly given you a Statement of affairs at present. I might have been more full but constant professional engagements have not given me a single half hour from 6 A. M. until the present time. . . .

M

To Thomas Spalding, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Sept. 24, 1834.

Constant occupation has not given me time enough to write a letter, else I should have kept you advised of the progress of the disease on Hutchinson Island.² Since my last letter the disease spread with great rapidity. It was raging with great violence at Mr. Cheves' & Major Hamilton's³ just opposite your son's place and during full two weeks the wind was in such a direction that it was constantly blowing from one or the other place. Before moving his negroes to the Pineland Major Hamilton lost 22 & Mr. Cheves 25. Finding the disease running through the whole force on the place and that of course staying on it would not enable them to save the crop, I advised a removal, of which you are aware. Since the negroes have been on the salts I have had no new cases. The day of the removal there were two new cases, making a total of 52 cases—out of them 8 deaths—2 of the deaths from relapses. Two were old men who

¹ Presumably an overseer.

² An island in the Savannah River, opposite Savannah.

³ These places and their owners have not been identified. Mr. William Harden, of the Georgia Historical Society, is of the opinion that the first may have belonged to the Hon. Langdon Cheves, of South Carolina, one-time president of the United States Bank.

did no work, one a child of 4 years, another an old man named Peter. The nurse Henry is among the dead. Except the 2 relapses I have not lost a case where I have seen the patient before he was in a state of collapse. . . .

M *To Dr. Heber Chase,¹ Philadelphia*

Dear Sir,

October 13, 1836

Hernia is a very common disease among Negroes, and of course impairs their usefulness very much. Planters generally have a stated Physician for their places, and on his recommendation they would perhaps use the truss on their places when they would be unwilling to call in another Physician as it were over his head. It is amongst the slave population that I consider the greatest field to lie. Our laboring class is different from yours of the North. The *interest*, if no other motive, causes the *Master* to obtain medical aid for his slave, & instead of looking to the laborer for his remuneration, the Physician looks to the *Employer*. This is the true reason why Physicians get into practice more readily at the South than at the North, and that *here* he stands some chance of making his bread while he has teeth to chew it. . . .

To Rev. Chandler Robbins,² Boston

Dear Sir,

Aug. 15, 1837.

Yours of the 27 ult. in reply to mine of the 26th June, has been received, and I must say that its contents have been gratifying, and from its tenor I must cheerfully acknowledge that I have not quite done you justice. I did not address you with a view to publication in the *Register*,³ but as expressed in that letter, solely because I thought you harsh to the South and because I thought the course of the *Register* would do an irreparable injury to the cause of Unitarian Christianity⁴. God

¹ Dr. Chase had spent several years in perfecting his truss, which was generally considered, by physicians of the ante-bellum period, to be the best available. See S. D. Gross, "Surgery," in E. H. Clarke, *et al.*, *A Century of American Medicine*, Phila., 1876, p. 185.

² A prominent Unitarian clergyman, graduated Harvard Divinity School, 1833, pastor of the Second Church, Boston, 1833-1874.

³ *The Christian Register*, the New England Unitarian organ.

⁴ The relation of Unitarians to abolitionism was the subject of intense discussion at this time, in New England. Chandler Robbins, a few years after this, openly joined those Unitarian clergymen who condemned slavery as being unchristian.

knows that here it has enough of ignorance and intolerance to battle with, to make us anxious that no new pretext of opposition should be afforded to its opponents.

The abolitionists, of whom I am most happy to hear you disclaim being one, have by their intemperance, united the whole South against them as one man. To carry their plans into effect they would have to wade knee deep in blood. I speak the language of truth and not of hyperbole. The two races are so separated, that the one now the lower, will never be allowed to mount to a perfect equality, except over the prostrate bodies of the upper. But I will not be led away into any discussion. I will only observe that with you Slavery is an abstract question, —with us it involves life and property, safety and security. Its *abstract right* I do not argue for, but it is not always good sense or prudence to apply mere abstract ideas to all the relations of social life; and the institution of Slavery, although indefensible on the ground of abstract rights, can be defended and well defended upon this, that so intimately is it mingled with our social conditions, so deeply has it taken root, that it would be impossible to eradicate it without upturning the foundations of that condition. On the ground of expediency we are still stronger, for without a population of Blacks the whole Southern Country would become a desert. Here I am again getting into an argument, when my only design in answering you was to express how satisfactory your letter has been to me.

With best wishes for the cause of Unitarian Christianity and for yourself,

M

To Mrs. Thomas

Dear Madam,

Aug. 30, 1837.

. . . Our city remains perfectly healthy. In that particular it is surpassed by none in the Union. The deaths that do occur are mostly among the Non-Residents, foreigners, who are victims of intemperance more than climate. . . .

Anonymous

My Dear Sir,

Nov. 5, 1837.

I have been intending for some time past to write you, but have been procrastinating until the time when we expect to see

you in Savannah has nearly arrived. . . . You could come with perfect safety now, as there has been a frost. Besides our city has enjoyed a remarkable degree of health this season. We hope Mrs. Moultrie has entirely recovered her health. Is she not, like 99/100 of our Ladies in the South, by far too sedentary in her habits? On that point I quarrel with Margaret,¹ for she would sooner sit all day with a needle in her hand than walk a quarter of a mile. . . .

Anonymous

My Dear Sir,

Nov. 5, 1837.

. . . I think before long the new party lines will be drawn & the question of a National Bank will be the dividing one, if the Penna. Bank push the schemes laid down by Biddle.² Biddle's Bank in this city³ may fairly be said to have thrown itself openly into the electioneering ranks. Its cashier was a candidate for Alderman & if that ticket had succeeded would have been elected Mayor of the city.

The Union Party called on me to start for the Legislature but I declined so costly an honor, for it would have done me serious injury in my profession.

Our Rail Road is going rapidly ahead, seventy miles will be completed by May next.⁴ I am in hopes that it will infuse a new vigor into our city & give an impetus to business of all kinds. . . .

To Mrs. Arnold

Dearest Wife,

Milledgeville, Dec. 6, 1837.

. . . I wish I had been able to bring you up with me. You would be amused with what you would see. No two people separated by the barrier of a different language are more radically dissimilar than the low and up country people of this state. To

¹ Margaret Stirk Arnold (1815-1850), Dr. Arnold's wife. His letters display, throughout his entire correspondence, an unusual devotion to her. She was of delicate constitution, even at this time, and after several years of invalidism, died of pulmonary tuberculosis.

² Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia, president of the Second United States Bank.

³ A picture of this bank, a branch of the Second United States Bank, is appended to the first volume of T. A. Richards, (ed.), *Georgia Illustrated*, Penfield (Ga.), 1841.

⁴ The Central of Georgia Railroad, which upon completion, about a decade later, ran from Savannah to Macon. Building was halted shortly after this letter was written, by the financial depression of 1837 and the ensuing years.

illustrate this, let me journalize the last two days. On Monday night we were invited to the Kenan who married Miss Spaulding to spend the evening; said he, "come round and take a game of cards and about 10 or 11 we'll give you something good to go upon." Accordingly I ate at tea but a single biscuit, for our Hoyle suppers rose up to my imagination. We played until 12 o'clock without having Turkey served to us. Some made a move to go, when Kenan said we must eat something before we went. We accordingly adjourned to the other room, where we found some sliced cold beef, coffee already mixed and *cooling*, and wheat biscuits—Now dearest, I do not write this in ridicule, because Hospitality consists in feeling and not in show, and there is no lack of feeling on his part, but now what would *you* think of my inviting a party of strangers and giving them such fare? Why it would even give Maim Dinal (?) the Dutch fits. But up here it was considered nothing out of the way, on the contrary, as the fare was substantial and plenty, would be thought something handsome.

His house is beautifully furnished. I observed the curtains Mary¹ spoke [of] and by candle light they looked splendid. His drawing room is very large and he has two most splendid sofas. Yet the candle sticks were brass. Don't you think traveling makes me more observant than I used to be? Yesterday Ward² and I walked to the court house. Although personally known to the Solicitor he never even asked his brother Solicitor to take a seat in the bar but permitted him to stand up outside a full quarter of an hour outside of it. No Savannah lawyer would have been guilty of such neglect . . . but up here it is not so considered. They never trouble themselves about little matters. As to the mode of eating, it passes all endurance. As soon as the bell rings there is a general rush to the eating room and there each one eats as if he had a wager depending on eating much in a short time. Surely they eat to live and can by no manner of means be accused of living to eat.

In both Halls of the Legislature the members sit with their hats on or walk about, or lounge about the fires, chewing, spitting, and smoking. Of the Ladies, not having been in their

¹ Probably Mary Houston, Dr. Arnold's cousin.

² John E. Ward, lawyer and Democratic politician of Savannah, later U. S. Minister to China; one of Arnold's closest friends.

company I know nothing, but I heard of an expression of one which may perhaps be considered characteristic of their modes. In speaking of a young man whose addresses she had rejected, she observed that "he had barked up the wrong tree."

The men here gamble very high. I went last night to a Faro table, where there were plenty of members of the legislature, I lost ten dollars which was enough to satisfy me. . . .

We have given up our trip to Macon but intend returning *via* Augusta. The races take place this week, but for them I do not care a cent. In fact I should dislike to have it said I went to see them and if I did go, such a thing would most assuredly be said. Last night and today we had rain, the walking is unusually bad. The least moisture softens the Clay Soil and every step you take [lifts] up on your shoe a pound of sticky clay mud. . . .

To Rev. E. L. Bascom,¹ Boston

Dear Sir,

n. d. [1837].

Yours from Kennebunk came duly to hand and should have been answered before, but owing to various circumstances, I have delayed so long that I must throw myself on your kind indulgence.

You allude to a change being desired in our pulpit. I am not aware that a change is desired. At least as one pew holder, I should be very sorry to see any. Under your ministration our Society² has made as rapid a progress as was possible under the circumstances, and I should be sorry at this stage to see another come in and reap the fruit of your pastoral labors. I sincerely hope, my dear Sir, that we shall again see you in that pulpit which you have mainly contributed to have raised amongst us.

Mr. Robbins wrote me a most satisfactory letter. I am sorry to see so bad a spirit beginning to be manifested by leading and respectable men at the North. Before God, I believe that Dr.

¹ Ezekiel Lysander Bascom, a Massachusetts Unitarian clergyman, who served as pastor of the Savannah Unitarian Church in this decade.

² The Unitarian movement began early in Savannah and Charleston, and may have been concomitant with the early movement in New England. The date of the founding of the Savannah Society has not been determined; but as early as 1819 Jared Sparks noted the existence of a "handsome but not elegant" Unitarian Church in the city. His biographer, H. B. Adams, observes in this connection that "it is remarkable that Unitarianism was flourishing at this time as far South as Savannah;" *Life and Writings of Jared Sparks*, Boston, 1893, I. 160.

Channing¹ is opening a path over which torrents of bloodshed are destined to roll. We do not wish Dr. C. to become the keeper of our consciences. Our domestic concerns are for us to manage. You [know] my feelings toward the North. Myself the son of a New Englander, a direct descendant of one of the pilgrims of Plymouth, I have always looked towards that section of the country with great partiality. You know then that it is not from any heated spirit of partisanship towards the South, that I declare my belief that if the Abolitionists continue their agitation, it will end by an entire dissolution of this Union, and as an inevitable consequence a civil war, and the bayonet's bristling point will be presented towards the breasts of men, who under other circumstances, would be welcomed to our arms as brethren of one mighty and united Nation. However, I know your sentiments on this subject so well that I will not expatiate. . . .

M

*To Chas. D. Meigs, M. D. Phila.*²

Dear Sir,

July 2, 1838.

. . . I cannot give any further information beyond what you could yourself obtain from Mrs. . . . As the wife of a medical man, she is aware that false delicacy too often injures females, by their allowing disease to get beyond the reach of medical art before they speak out. I have told her to answer any question you should think necessary to ask her.

M

*To M. M. Antony, Augusta*³

Dear Sir,

Aug. 27, 1838.

Accompanying this you will receive a paper read by me on the 4th Feb. before the Medical Society.⁴ . . . I wish there was more industry at the South among medical men. Yet it must be recollected that the situation of the Medical man at the

¹ William E. Channing, the Massachusetts Unitarian leader. Arnold's comments on his policy are indicative of that growing tension within the churches, North and South, over slavery, which affected the Unitarian as well as other denominations.

² Charles D. Meigs, a prominent obstetrician, who had begun his career in Athens, Georgia. He was professor of obstetrics at Jefferson Medical College, 1841-1861.

³ Dr. Milton M. Antony, founder (1832) of the Medical College of Georgia at Augusta, and (1836) of the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, published in that city.

⁴ The Georgia Medical Society (of Savannah), incorporated in 1804.

South and in one of the large cities at the North, where the *writing* men reside, is very different. There a man waits for 10 years to get into a practice. He has time and the splendid medical libraries afford him material to dilate to the utmost on the practice he obtains. Here, practice engrosses almost all the attention, and cut off from books, comparatively, there is not that incentive to write here as at the North. However, the experience of the Southern Physicians would afford excellent materials worthy of a permanent record. They ought to hail your Journal¹ with pleasure as affording the best means of recording it. I hope you will go on with a third volume. Please let me know when this reaches you.

M *To Samuel C. Sheppard, Phila.*

Dear Sir, Sept. 3, 1838.

... Since undertaking the agency of the trusses I have disposed of 33. I have been disappointed, not in the trusses but in the field for the sale of them, I had supposed that the Planters would have eagerly availed themselves of them & as Hernia is a common disease among negroes I anticipated a great sale. I was mistaken, they prefer the penny wisdom of buying the common and cheap trusses at the Apothecaries & I will not be a party in degrading Dr. Chase's most admirable invention to a competition of dollars & cents with such trash. My practice with them has consequently been confined to the white population, which is not a large one. I went to Milledgeville last fall purposely to introduce the truss to the notice of the Central Medical Society.² After I reached there I found that Society did not meet in consequence of its having been virtually abrogated by a law of the Legislature legalizing Thomsonian practice.³

To Mrs. Arnold

Dearest Wife, Sept. 20, 1838.

... Our authorities, dearest, have acted very wisely in not establishing a quarantine against Charleston. Very few, now-

¹ The Journal noted above; it was the first medical periodical published in the South.

² Efforts to identify this early society have been unsuccessful.

³ Treatment by vegetable drugs, known popularly as "The Botanic System." Although the Georgia Medical Society had persuaded the Legislature to pass a law limiting practice to those holding the M. D. degree or passing certain tests, (1821), the law noted above made an exception in the case of Thomsonian practitioners. The Legislature continued to license such men throughout the ante-bellum period.

days, believe in the contagion of Yellow fever.¹ It is still making great havoc among the people there. Octavus Cohen² has just arrived from there and he says the papers do not report one half the deaths.³ . . .

M *To Samuel C. Sheppard, Phila.*

Dear Sir,

Oct. 16, 1838.

. . . Certainly if ever a man deserved a fortune for an invention, he does.⁴ And yet as you observe a vender of pills will do more. This puts me in mind of what I have read concerning Sir C. Brodie⁵ & Morrison, the Hygiene pill man.⁶ While the former makes £20,000 from his practice, after a lifetime devoted to science, Morrison is said to receive £80,000 a year as the reward of mixing together a few drastics⁷ in a pill. So goes the World.⁸

To Mrs. Arnold

My Dearest Wife,

May 24, 1839.

Tonight there is to be a meeting to organize a Georgia Historical Society, a plan started by Tefft,⁹ Dr. Stevens,¹⁰ and

¹ There had been a long and intense controversy over this question; commercial as well as medical interests being involved. The confusion among physicians was probably due to the fact that there was much evidence that yellow fever was not spread by contact; yet there was also some evidence that it *did spread* after the arrival of an infected vessel. The insect transmission theory, which reconciled these apparently contradictory phenomena, was first advocated in this country by Dr. Josiah Nott, of Charleston and Mobile, in 1848, but was not seriously heeded until the end of the century. Dr. Arnold was probably correct in saying that a majority no longer believed in contagion by 1838, if he used the term in the narrow, contactive sense. Most Georgia physicians went all the way with him, moreover, in holding that the disease always originated in local atmospheric conditions, and was therefore restricted to the local area.

² A prominent Jewish merchant of Savannah, one of Dr. Arnold's most intimate friends.

³ Cities were much concerned with their reputation for health, and were not always above suppressing reports concerning disease; though this was not necessarily true of Charleston in the case noted above. Commercial rivalry between two such ports as that city and Savannah, often involved rivalry in health matters, and each watched the other's reports with a jealous eye.

⁴ Dr. Chase, for his truss.

⁵ Sir Benjamin C. Brodie, a distinguished London surgeon; surgeon to Queen Victoria, and president of the Royal Society.

⁶ Manufacturer of "Morrison's Hygean Vegetable Universal Medicine, of the British College of Health, London."

⁷ Powerful purgatives.

⁸ Eleven years after this, a bill was introduced in the Georgia Legislature to regulate and tax the sale of patent medicines; only to be defeated in the Senate by a vote of 21 to 14.

⁹ Israel K. Tefft, a collector of historical materials, first corresponding secretary of the Society.

¹⁰ William Bacon Stevens, who later became, in turn, professor of history at the University of Georgia, and Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania; author of Stevens' *History of Georgia*.

self. We have written circulars to about 40 persons and hope for a full meeting. If it should go into successful operation it will be quite a feather in our caps. I'll report progress in my next.¹

To Mrs. Arnold

My Dearest Wife,

May 25, 1839.

Well, we had a meeting last night at which 26 were present, so we may fairly say we have made a good beginning. . . .

M

To Mrs. Arnold

Dearest Wife,

May 29, 1839.

. . . But so goes the profession. It is one which certainly requires that a man should give up almost every social enjoyment and is therefore one which a person like myself who has so keen an enjoyment of such pleasures ought never to have chosen. The longer I practice the more I feel determined to go hereafter for the "quid pro quo"! It runs me almost crazy to think that with hundreds upon hundreds due me professionally I find the greatest difficulty in raising a simple fifty dollars. I hope as I grow older I will grow wiser in money matters & not, with an annual income of over three thousand dollars, be constantly in want of a twenty dollar bill. . . .

Anonymous

My dear Cousin,

August 9, 1844.²

Your letter of the 1st inst. reached me on the 5th and the contents were duly noted and attended to as far as in my power. After a consultation with Judge Charlton³ he coincided with me that it would be best for me to call in person on Richard Millen. This I did yesterday morning. I'll not enter into details more than are sufficient for you to understand matters. I told him I called as your agent to inquire after those negroes. "What

¹ More than thirty years after this Dr. Arnold related the story of the Historical Society's origin, in an address before the Society. See *Georgia Historical Society Collections*, III. (1871) 420-428. Adelaide Wilson, in speaking of Dr. Arnold (*Historic and Picturesque Savannah*, 1889, p. 243) observes that: "It was in a great measure to his activity and love of literature that the Georgia Historical Society had origin."

² The letters for the early forties are not to be found in Dr. Arnold's papers.

³ Probably R. M. Charlton, who was Judge of the Superior Court in Savannah, 1835-1837; though it is possible that the reference is to his father, T. U. P. Charlton, who had also been judge of the same Court.

negroes." "Mary Ann, Bella & Ellick, I am informed you have taken possession of them." "I (R. M.) have Mary Ann & Bella, but Ellick is at the plantation. I have taken possession of them as one of the heirs of my mother. They were kicking about without any body to take care of them and I have as good a right to take charge of them as any body else." I then observed that from the observations he had dropped it was supposed that he intended to emancipate them. He replied that that was impossible from the laws of Georgia. I observed that it could be done by sending them away, and that was the fear. He said you must think him a great fool to subject himself to a Penitentiary offence in doing a thing like that. I replied yes, he certainly would subject himself to a criminal prosecution by a course like that. Some conversation ensued about Uncle Mil-len's wishes in relation to Priscilla. I told him my impressions on that subject. He still harped upon the wishes of his Father which he said he heard him express on his dying bed, and that they (the negroes in question) ought never to have been held in Slavery. I observed he could do what he chose with his share. He said certainly. I confirmed [?] that Priscilla (although from several conversations with John, and from the looks of the girl herself I was satisfied, was not what I've wished to press [?] her for) had been always her own mistress except when she was sick and in want, when John had provided for her. He said a man had told him he had paid her Doctor's bill. I replied, as you know I always speak out, that it was a damned lie, that I had always attended her as I did any other negro of John's. He bristled up and said he did not wish to quarrel but he would not have such language used. I rejoined that I did not come there to quarrel, that I did not charge him, individually, with a lie, as he repeated what had been told him; but that a lie was a lie, come from what quarter it might and that I would always stigmatize it as such. Other things of comparative little importance ————. He disclaimed, positively and unequivocally, any intention of disposing of the negroes in any other way, than by a division, that he wished a division and that was his object. Now Judge Charlton says that, with my testimony and that of Mr. Guerard, you could get possession. The question then is, ———— there is danger of his running them off, (and after his avowal to me of his knowledge that this would be

a criminal offence, he would have no loop hole to creep out of). Shall I as your agent take possession of them, giving bonds for their future forthcoming, or shall I allow him to keep possession until you return?

I thought it best, as there was no immediate danger, to refer the matter back to you. His own declarations to me would fix fraud on him were he to attempt any removal. And I think he is well aware of this. If you & Wm. Waldrop [?] wish me to go on and take possession, it shall be done instantly. Mr. Henry Williams has, as Richard I thought informed me with some emphasis, George's power of attorney. Great Heavens, if the deceased can look down on earth, see what is going on & still partake of human feelings, what must be the feelings of our departed relative!

M *To Mrs. H. M. McAllister*¹

My Dear Mrs. McAllister,

Sept. 8, 1844.

Your note of yesterday came to hand at 8 o'clock this Evening and I hasten to reply to it so that Nat may convey my answer. First as to the health of our City. At this season of the year there are always many cases of Fever. It is nothing new or alarming for them to occur. I have seen nothing malignant or unusual in them. Since the first of August I have lost but three cases of fever at the Hospital. Certainly a proportion which however I might flatter myself, must be owing to the general mildness of the cases and not to the treatment. Certain Physicians wish to conceal their lost cases under the head of Congestive Fever, & that is meant to explain every thing, practice & fever. My private cases are & have been numerous. I find them perfectly manageable in the long run, but of the great number of my cases I cannot save all, yet am I willing to institute a comparison with any of the Alarmists as to number of cases treated & the ratio of mortality. So much in vindication of our City. I returned here on the last Saturday in July. I had no apprehension of sickness. I am and have been extremely well. Yet if any person has any apprehension of disease, let him stay away. He suffers a double penalty, he dies a dozen

¹ Mrs. H. M. McAllister, wife of a wealthy coastal planter; the latter was a leader of the "state rights" Democrats in the forties. Mrs. McAllister, née Louisa Charlotte Cutler, is reputed to have been a "great beauty."

deaths. To the acclimated man, possessing the means of comfort and luxury, I think there is not the shadow of danger, unless it spring from himself, from his morbid imagination. If he cannot control that, let him stay away. I should say a man who has such constant apprehension had better quit the climate altogether. He might find as I did while studying medicine, some fifteen years ago, that men & women & children really do die at the North, that "promised land" of health for some, & as I verified during my recent visit, that even men & women did not wait for their scripturally allotted time "to shuffle off this mortal coil" but actually did it, at from 20 to 60 years of age, without their tombstones mentioning that it was by a *felo-de-se*.

Anonymous

Dear Sir,

Nov. 8, 1844.

. . . Our absentees have almost all returned but our season has not yet commenced for any purposes whatsoever. In fact just at this time Politics play the part of Aaron's Rod. . . . There is but little doubt the Democrats have carried the State, but I think it will be by a decreased majority. The Polk men are in fine spirits, but I confess that I am very doubtful. Your party wields such an immense moneyed interest, and unfortunately money has latterly played such an important part in Politics, that I am in constant doubt as to the financial result. We had a terrible struggle in our county. The Whig merchants bled freely. Mr. Story Fay¹ was "as large as life & twice as natural" on Election day, & while they were counting out the vote, offered to bet on a hundred Whig majority, but he was mistaken. We carried the county by 17 majority, out of 1653 votes polled, the largest polling ever known here. Judge Berrien² was here, as also Judge Law,³ & every nerve was strained by the Whigs, so we look upon our majority, small as it is, as a great triumph. While I write you have doubtless heard . . . how the Empire state has decided. On her decision hangs the fate of the contest. . . . Let the result be as it may I am heartily re-

¹ Joseph Story Fay, a Savannah merchant and Whig politician, of the firm of Padelford and Fay. He was of northern origin, and moved to Boston when the Civil War was imminent.

² John McPherson Berrien, Savannah lawyer, for many years United States Senator from Georgia.

³ William Law, Savannah attorney, alderman for 1828-29, 1841-42.

joiced it is over. I am sick of elections. The fraud, corruption & lying (and unfortunately both parties are guilty, though I acknowledge yours the superior by far in the dirty rivalry) are enough to sicken a man and make him despise mankind. . . .

To Mr. David R. Dillon¹

Dear Sir,

Dec. 2, 1844.

Francis McNeill informs me that you have given James McNeill more than a hundred lashes and have him tied down at your store. I hope there is some mistake in this. I can hardly believe that there is not at least some exaggeration. Whatever you do you must do according to law. For what he may owe you, set him up at auction, and sell his time, so as to cover all expenses. No colored ward of mine shall escape paying any just debt; I always tell them so.² But they have certain rights in which they must [be] protected, and the law does not allow corporal punishment to be inflicted indiscriminately.

At the request of Francis I wrote this note, and trust you will release him, if you have him in confinement, without further steps.

To Mrs. Arnold

Dearest Wife,

May 16, 1845.

I had just returned from driving with Mr. Higham when I wrote you last. The guests were entirely of the Whist Club, with the exception of Mr. Padelford.³ I rode out, by myself, in the Barouche, Handy driving. I was the last on the ground, but Dinner was not served for some time after my arrival. The table looked very neat. Mrs. H. was not present. A very good vegetable soup rather dampened me, for I had somehow or other made up my mouth "turtle fashion." But in being dampened by that *rather* watery compound was doing great injustice to the gastronomic taste of our host and had he known my offence he would have found himself amply revenged when a most capacious dish of real green turtle stew made its appearance. And such a stew! Never did the mouth of London Alder-

¹ A Savannah merchant, who later became the owner and manager of steamers plying between Savannah and Augusta.

² Dr. Arnold was legal guardian for a number of free negroes in Savannah, in conformity with the State law of the period. There are several letters among his papers expressing his concern for their welfare.

³ E. Padelford, a Savannah merchant, of the firm of Padelford and Fay; later Padelford and Cope.

man open to receive a dish in which more ample justice was done to the succulent qualities of that first and best of the forbidden things of Moses. The stew was composed entirely of the green fat of the Turtle and the forced-meat balls were made out of the muscular part. Nothing foreign marred the taste. Spice enough to season without stimulation, and madeira and claret enough to mingle with its own juices and form a rich gravy were all the seasoning. I had debated what course I should pursue as to eating, whether I should keep to plain boiled or plunge at once into all the variety that might be offered. The sight of this dish kicked the temperance beam of my mental scales, and undeterred by fear of Furuncles and Rochelle Salts I "greatly daring dined," as my inclination prompted me. A calf's head stew in white sauce followed at my end of the table. It was cut in half longitudinally, and the brains were in the sauce. The ears and eyes were in statu quo and Higham dug out an eye and offered it as . . . one would take out the eye of a fine trout. This I did not like. There are certain dishes which are too *anatomical* for me. A dish of veal cutlets and a piece of cold roast lamb completed this course. I had eaten sufficiently of the Turtle. Higham had called me when I entered the room to take a seat on his right. When I refused calf's head he whispered to me that, if I chose to keep back, there would be a "pate de fois gras." He had bought it in Charleston and it had just arrived in this country. You know they are put up with truffles. They are sliced and eaten somewhat as you would old cheese. A very little satisfied me. Higham gave me a nice slice with a whole truffle in it. I confess I cannot taste anything so very superior in the truffle and suppose I must attribute it to my want of taste. The liver is very rich. . . A very nice Ice cream, then nuts and olives terminated as pleasant and well got up dinner as I have been at for some time. Roser,¹ judging by his face lit up with more than celestial fire and his shining skull glistening with more than dew drops, must have enjoyed himself quite as much as I did. By a reversed rule, his eating made him forget his drinking. He accused Low [Law?], who was on his right, of drinking his punch and on that ground several times called the boy to replenish his glass that he might be able to wash the turtle down. . . On the whole I was glad that I had gone.

¹ H. Roser, a Savannah merchant, of the firm of Roser and O'Driscoll.

. . . On Saturday night I went to the Whist Club but on Sunday I found I had gone too far, as a small furuncle on my right leg gave evidence. Abstinence is setting me alright again and I feel that I am almost entirely recovered. . . .

To Rev. Dexter Clapp,¹ Northampton, Mass.

Dear Sir,

July 29, 1845.

. . . The only place I envy you for being at is the good city of Boston. I long to see it and some of its good folks. . . I met a young gentleman from Marietta, Cobb Co., in fact he brought me a letter of introduction from Gov. McDonald,² and I inquired of him if he had heard of any Unitarian movement about there and he replied that he had not. Unless very good authority were given I should not credit any such news as you gave on that point. You say "some sixty families." Why, that would be larger than your own congregation. No, no, Georgia is too new a country, in that section of it, for Unitarian Christianity.³ A few from the land of steady habits may carry it thither with them, but if it were strangled in Augusta, I have no hopes of its reviving and flourishing in Marietta, Cobb Co., which 20 yrs. since was an Indian Hunting ground. . . .

I am happy to hear that there is some prospect of Abolition becoming less rabid than formerly. I am satisfied that there are many well intentioned (am I not taking the liberty with the King's English) persons who are led away by designing men among the abolitionists, who, if they knew the real truth about the condition of our slaves ————. The enunciation of an abstract truth is very distinct from its practical application. . . .

M *To Miss Mary Houston⁴*

My Dear Mary,

April 27, 1846.

. . . On Wednesday night next I start for N. York as a delegate from the Georgia Medical Society to the National Medical

¹ A Unitarian Clergyman, graduate Harvard Divinity School, 1842, ordained at Savannah, 1843, and served as pastor of the Unitarian Church there until 1846, when he returned to Massachusetts.

² C. J. McDonald, Democratic Governor of Georgia, 1839-1843, leader of the "Fire-Eaters" of 1850.

³ Marietta is located a short distance north of Atlanta. There had been some Unitarians in Augusta before this time; see *The Christian Register* for Jan. 3, 1829.

⁴ Dr. Arnold's Cousin.

convention about to be held in N. York on the first Tuesday in May.¹ As it promises to be a very interesting meeting in a professional point of view I thought an absence of two weeks would not be paying too dearly for it, particularly as the Society will pay my traveling expenses. . . .

To Mrs. Arnold

Exchange Hotel, Baltimore, Md.

Dearest Wife,

May 3, 1846.

We arrived in Charleston the next morning after leaving home. We stopped at Stuart's Hotel to eat breakfast and dinner. At three o'clock we embarked on board the Governor Dudley. Owing to the storm . . . there had been no regular boat for two days. Hence an uncommon no. of passengers had accumulated in Charleston. In addition to the usual travelers, we were favored by nearly 40 Methodist Parsons on their way to the annual conferences about to be held at Petersburg in Virginia. . . . Generally speaking they were a most uncouth, repulsive looking set of beings; chewing tobacco, of course spitting, and drinking water every ten minutes seemed to be their chief amusement. . . . Fortunately the night was calm and pleasant although many were alarmed lest such a load of Parsons should bring a squall in their wake. . . .

M

To Mrs. Arnold

Philadelphia,

Dear Wife,

May 13, 1846.

. . . This is a delightful House. . . . The assortment of wines, sherry, sauterne, champagne, & madeira, was delicious. . . . Mrs. Hunt was always a favorite of mine & we talked of old times, & when the salad came on the table she asked me if I dressed it as well as I used to. By the way, Dr. and Mrs. Hunt asked me the same question. . . . I observed that old Mrs. Hunt had taught me a great deal in the shape of manners & that I used to worry her sometimes by not being genteel. Westly [[?]] said, "Pooh pooh, she did not have anything to teach you, you

¹ The meeting at which plans were made for the formation of the American Medical Association. The suggestion that such an association be formed had first been made by Georgia physicians (1835); but the invitation for the successful meeting of '46 was issued by the New York State Medical Society, with a view to reforming current methods in medical education. Medical colleges and societies were asked to send delegates.

were only hilarious." Dr. Clymer¹ said, "Well that has not yet deserted him, I told Dr. Stewart² that Dr. Arnold was coming on & that we were going to have one very good fellow among the Delegates." . . . After Dinner we went to the Opera to the Brewer of Preston³ to hear the Seguins & Frazier.⁴ We were obliged to lose the third act, to go to Dr. Bell's⁵ Medical Club. The physicians here are very sociable amongst each other & meet three times a week at each other's houses. Here I met many distinguished medical men. We returned to the Opera & heard the third act & after that Dr. Clymer took me to the Club. I was pleased to find that men who are distinguished in their profession here are not afraid of a little recreation. I had an idea that they were all as stiff as if done up in buckram, but at this club, which is held at a large house in Walnut Street occupied solely by it, reading rooms below, card rooms & Supper room on the second floor & billiard rooms on the third. I met Drs. Wm. Rush,⁶ Randolph,⁷ Biddle,⁸ Gerhard,⁹ & Fox,¹⁰ & was introduced into it by Dr. Clymer, who is a professor.

¹ Meredith Clymer (grandson of George Clymer, signer of the Declaration of Independence), a pioneer neurologist of Philadelphia. In 1846 he was professor of the practice of medicine in the Franklin Medical College of that city; later he was a professor in the University of the City of New York, and, after the Civil War, in Albany Medical College. Dr. A. Vander Veer of Albany, a former president of the A. M. A., writes the editor (March 8, 1928): "I met Dr. Arnold at the home of Dr. Clymer of New York, and found him a very delightful man to talk with. I think he had the most sincere, and perhaps plausible, defense of southern slavery I have ever known," etc.

² Probably Dr. F. C. Stewart, who was awarded his M. D. at the University of Pennsylvania in 1837, and was in 1846 giving clinical lectures at Bellevue Hospital, New York City.

³ *Le Brasseur de Preston*, composed by Adolphe C. Adam, and first presented at the *Opéra-Comique*, Paris, 1838. It had a great, but only temporary, popular success in Germany, England, and the United States, as well as in France.

⁴ Mr. and Mrs. ——— Seguin and Mr. ——— Frazier, were the leading artists in a stock company giving popular operas at the Chestnut St. Theater, in Philadelphia, at this time.

⁵ Dr. John Bell, a Philadelphia surgeon, and lecturer in the Philadelphia Medical Institute.

⁶ Dr. William Rush, of Philadelphia, a son of Dr. Benjamin Rush.

⁷ Dr. Jacob Randolph, then a lecturer on clinical surgery in Jefferson Medical College, later professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

⁸ Dr. John Barclay Biddle, of Philadelphia, professor of materia medica, successively, in the Franklin, Pennsylvania, and Jefferson Medical Colleges, of that city. The second named is not to be confused with the University of Pennsylvania.

⁹ Dr. William Wood Gerhard, of Philadelphia, a pioneer pediatrician, and authority on typhoid and typhus fevers; associated with the Pennsylvania Hospital and University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ Dr. George Fox, of Philadelphia, later of the medical staff of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

Without knowing it I played a game of five dollar whist, but as soon as I was square I stopped playing. . . .

M *To Mr. Jacob Waldburg*¹

My dear Mr. Waldburg,

Oct. 12, 1846.

. . . Since the delivering of your letter I have literally not had one hour to myself. I rise at six every morning & from that until ten at night I can not say what hour I can devote to any particular object. You may judge of my labor when I tell you that I booked twenty-five hundred dollars in the month of September alone. I feel very proud of the manner in which you speak of my absence from the city, in a professional point of view. But I beg to remind you that my absence was on professional grounds, & that I was amply repaid by having so honorable a position assigned me in the convention.² You must confess that an ambition to be known professionally beyond the limits of our little city is a laudable one. I feel at least that it has served me in my endeavors to investigate & pursue my profession in a scientific manner, & if our lives are spared, I hope I may yet prove this in a more tangible manner than my mere assertion. . . .

. . . I know that like most men I have enemies, but when I look at my books & see the amount of my practice I can afford to treat them with contempt. I know politics have been my bane. It is to them that I owe my present pecuniary embarrassment. . . . I intend to make hay while the sun shines on me professionally. I have done a good business this year & in the winter I intend to collect better than I have heretofore done. Those who do not pay me need not employ me. I feel that I have done my full share of charity practice & there [are] a great many who will not pay unless pushed. I believe I may say with out too much vanity that I can command as good a practice as any one else. I do not see why I should not look to the considerations of the profession. . . .

¹ A Savannah planter, alderman, 1844-'45.

² Dr. Arnold and Dr. Alfred Stillé, of Philadelphia, were chosen as the first secretaries of the newly-formed American Medical Association.

M *To Dr. D. F. Condie,¹ Philadelphia, Pa.*

Dear Sir, Philadelphia, April 10, 1847.

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 4th Nov. last, informing me that I had been elected an Associate Member of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.² I beg to return to the members of the College of Physicians my thanks for so distinguished an honor. . . .

To Philadelphia our profession in other parts of the Union looks for the beacons to guide us onward. A Fellowship with such lights of our profession as exist among you is then a matter of honorable satisfaction.

M *To Dr. Joe H. Gressoin,³ New York*

Dear Sir, Nov. 15, 1847.

As the Legislature of our State meets biennially & is now in session it is necessary that the committee under the second resolution of your report, as adopted by the Medical Convention of this year, should take immediate steps to carry out the views of the convention relating to a uniform system of Registration of births, marriages & deaths throughout the Union.⁴ . . . I will go to Milledgeville myself in order to aid the course. Having served in both branches of the Legislature I flatter myself that my personal interference and explanation might be of service.

¹ Dr. David F. Condie, a prominent author and practitioner of Philadelphia; an authority on pediatrics.

² Founded in 1787, the Philadelphia College of Physicians has continued one of the most important institutions of its kind in the Union. It is at present the possessor of what is probably the second most valuable medical library in the country.

³ A New York City practitioner, who was appointed at the first national medical convention, 1846, chairman of a Committee to report plans for registration of vital statistics.

⁴ Mortality statistics had long been collected in several of the larger American towns, usually on the basis of sextons' reports of burials. After c. 1840 some of these cities also began the collection of birth and morbidity figures, and improved their methods of registration; partly as the result of the stimulating and significant reports of William Farr, of the Registrar General's office in Great Britain. American insurance companies, and socially-minded medical men, desired similar national reports for the United States; hence the appointment of the Committee noted above. The failure of the movement at the time, is well illustrated in Dr. Arnold's subsequent letters.

Will you as chairman send me such a bill for passage as you may deem necessary or such a one as may have been submitted by you to any other Legislature. . . .

I hope you will not deem it presumptuous in me to offer one or two suggestions.

In the note, p. 141 of the proceedings, you advise prefixing the word "coloured" if the individual be not white. . . . Now knowing as I do from experience in our warm climate, disease affects the Caucasian & African varieties of the human Race quite differently, & that the mixture of the Caucasian with the African constituting the Mulatto when half & half, does also modify disease, I think the term "coloured" too vague.¹ I would suggest substituting of Mulatto & of those other terms, indicating the admixture of the two bloods. . . .

In the nomenclature (appendix B) you have Intermittent, Remittent & Typhus Fevers. Where is Yellow Fever? And this part corroborates my other, for it is asserted that Blacks are not subject to Yellow Fever,² while Mulattos are. One of the results of your movement in bringing about uniform registration will be to decide all such questions, but if the term coloured only is used how are we [to] determine such a question?

I know that the greater the mixture of Caucasian Blood the more liable are the subjects to be affected similarly to the White. The Mulatto is almost useless as a field hand, not being able to bear the rays of the sun with the same impunity as his sable brother.

And now permit me two questions for my own satisfaction. Syphilis is put down among the contagious diseases—all right—

¹ The tendency in the ante-bellum period, and for some decades thereafter, was to stress the biological distinctions between the races,—particularly in the South, as a result of the pro-slavery movement. Dr. Arnold's views on negro diseases may have been colored by this tendency. Recent sociological opinion tends to accept the view that disease differences between negroes and whites have usually been due to environmental, rather than to racial (i. e. biological, factors. Nevertheless, Dr. Arnold seems to have had some definite evidence) notably in the case of yellow fever, indicating that negroes possessed a higher resistance to certain diseases than did the whites. This is in accord with present medical opinion.

² A view not strictly correct. The negroes were "subject to" yellow fever, but possessed a relatively high resistance to it. This distinction between susceptibility and resistance is sometimes important.

but why does it also find a place on the division of Epidemic or zymotic?¹ . . .

I congratulate you upon having originated this important movement. It will deservedly reflect great honour upon you. . . .

To Mrs. M. J. Ranbin, Mercer Co., Pa.

Dear Madam,

Jan. 8, 1848.

. . . I have not been forgetful of your interests. I took care to have everything arranged for a proper sale of the Brampton property, and accordingly on Tuesday last the plantation and the negroes belonging to you and the minor children were sold. John Williamson² became the purchaser of Brampton for \$9,500. The negroes had been divided into two lots, one for the first Mrs. Williamson's children, the others for your mother's. As it is necessary, for humanity's sake, to sell negroes in families, I offered to do so, intending to divide the net proceeds, instead of dividing the negroes. There were 28 negroes. They sold within \$75. of their appraised value, which was I thought very satisfactory . . .

M

To Mr. Jacob McCall

My dear Mr. McCall,

Aug. 29, 1849.

. . . That mysterious scourge Cholera has passed over our city, but has visited many of the Rice plantations in our vicinity. . . . I wish an Abolitionist could see the care & attention bestowed on our Negroes, first to avoid the pestilence, & next to cure the sick. A manufacturing Cotton Lord can easily fill the place of his dead operative & he loses nothing by his death. A planter loses so much capital by the death of every one of his operatives & hence to save his capital is to save his negroes.³

¹ The term "zymotic" (fermentive) was commonly used in this period, as an approximate synonym for "epidemic." It is difficult to understand why Dr. Arnold objected to listing syphilis under both the contagious and zymotic headings. It is a literally contagious, (i. e., contactive) disease, and is usually believed to have assumed epidemic proportions under certain circumstances; although this latter phenomenon had never been observed by the Savannah physician.

² City Treasurer of Savannah, 1866-'69.

³ An interesting illustration of this fact, in Savannah, is to be found in patent medicine advertisements directed especially to slave-owners; to the effect that this or that panacea is especially good for diseases common to negroes, and "has saved many a valuable slave." See, e. g. the "ad." of "Potter's Vegetable Catholicon," addressed "To Southern Planters," *Savannah Republican*, Jan. 12, 1836.

Servitude, as it exists with us, is the only institution in which Interests & Humanity go hand in hand together.¹ Put that it in the pipe of the first Abolitionist you meet & let him smoke it.

To Mr. Fitzherbert Stirk,¹ New York

Dear Fitzherbert,

Sept. 20, 1849.

. . . I am sorry that your letters so seldom contain anything calculated to afford any pleasure. You seem to think poor Tom a mine of riches. He has been sick all summer, twice very ill, and has paid no wages for 3 months. I have twice paid debts of yours with no money of yours on hand. . . . Tom may begin to pay wages next month. You owe me now but still, when he pays, I'll send it to you. . . . It seems to me you lie up and depend on Tom's wages³. . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold

My dearest daughter,⁴

Nov. 5, 1849.

. . . We are very glad to find that you are applying yourself so cheerfully. You will never regret that as long as you live. Mother told me about your having commenced drawing and I was pleased at it. You will find it hereafter a source of great amusement to you. Besides, to draw well is an accomplishment which will always add to the reputation of a young lady. . . . I think you have improved decidedly in your handwriting. You will not, I hope, find it irksome or difficult to correspond with me. As for my part, I could write pages to you, for what is a letter but conversation on paper? . . . I shall be very glad if you take a fancy to Latin. The knowledge of it is very useful in many ways, but principally because it facilitates the acquisition of all the modern languages. So I would not laugh at you, my dear daughter, but rather encourage you to persevere in your attempt to acquire it. I hope your teachers have not neglected

¹ As a matter of fact, this is true for all useful, *living* property. The same property interest that benefited the health of slaves, also promoted that of other "live stock."

² Brother of Dr. Arnold's wife; a sailor.

³ Tom was a slave who, although inherited by Mr. Stirk, was so entailed that the latter could not sell him, and could therefore receive only the income produced by his wages.

⁴ Eleanor N. Arnold (1834-1887), Dr. Arnold's only child, then studying at a private boarding school in Philadelphia. She subsequently married William C. Cosens, of Savannah.

to make you keep up your arithmetic. Mr. Rossignol had certainly brought you on very well in that branch.

We are very much obliged to Mrs. Hays¹ for her kindness to you in wishing to have you spend Sundays with her, but your mother says that she does not wish you to break through the rules of the school, and that therefore you must not ask Miss Louisa again about it. I think myself that once a week is quite often enough for you to go out. You must recollect that improvement is now the great object which ought to swallow up everything else. How often do you go to church? Does Miss Louisa object to your reading Sunday afternoons, providing you do not read light and frivolous books? If you had a copy of the *Spectator* it would afford excellent reading. . . . Addison was the principal contributor. I dare say that in your study of your school English History you have seen mention made of that author. If not, it will enforce what I said in my first letter to you, of the necessity of a knowledge of History to enable you to understand the allusions and references with which you continually meet in reading. However, my dearest child, I do not expect you to come from school versed in all this kind of reading. I expect, of course, that your principal attention shall be devoted to your elementary subjects, but yet in the intervals you would find the study of History an agreeable change, and once interested you would regard it as an amusement and not a task. I should like you to read Hume's History of England, as your first historical Book. Although more accurate Historians have discovered in him some inaccuracies, he will always hold a place in our libraries for the beauty of his style and the clearness of his narrative. I hope yet to guide your mind to such reading as will make you an accomplished and ready woman. . . .

To Hon. J. W. Anderson,²

Speaker, House of Representatives of Ga.

Dear John,

Dec. 8, 1849.

I sent up by Mr. Cohen,³ a memorial to the Legislature, on

¹ Wife of Dr. Isaac Hayes, of Philadelphia; the latter was at this time editor of *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, and of *The Medical News*.

² John W. Anderson, a prominent Savannah Democrat, many times alderman. His term as speaker of the Georgia House was during the stormy session of 1849-'50, when the first secession movement was under way.

³ Probably Octavus Cohen; but possibly Solomon Cohen, who was a Savannah lawyer, and friend of Dr. Arnold's. Neither were members of the Legislature.

behalf of the Medical Society of Georgia¹ in relation to an act for the registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, and an act already printed, both for the convenience of the members. . . . This is a subject which has so little engaged the attention of Political men on this side of the Atlantic,² that I much fear that there will be in the House as much opposition to it as there was in 1847. Mr. Snider³ had a similar bill passed in the Senate with little opposition. Neither Mr. Bartow⁴ nor Mr. Clark⁵ ever deigned to give me a word of intelligence as to how it was killed in the House. I attacked the latter about it one day, & his reply was, "Why they laughed at it."⁶ . . . I send you also a copy of the proceedings of the State Medical Convention, authorizing the Committee to memorialize the General Assembly of Georgia. Also two documents from the Massachusetts Legislature which will furnish a fund of facts for any gentlemen who wish to advocate the Bill. . . . I feel certain that it is only necessary to call the attention of many of the leading minds of the Legislature to this subject, to convince them of its vast importance both in its statistical vein & in its bearings upon questions involving descent & titles & claims to property.⁷ Land is not always to be of the small value that it now is, nor is our population to continue to be as migratory as it now is. Proper statistical tables are the only means by which we can prove our property [prosperity?] to the world. Massachusetts brags so loud because (for one reason) she has the data to refer

¹ Established in 1849, at the suggestion of the Georgia Medical College, of Augusta. This State society should not be confused with the "Georgia Medical Society," a local Savannah organization, founded in 1804. Dr. Arnold was chairman of the committee which wrote the constitution of the State society, 1849; was elected First Vice President that year, and President in 1851.

² The British system of national registration of vital statistics was established in the late thirties; and received much attention during the forties.

³ Benjamin Snider, state senator from Chatham, 1847. His registration bill passed in the Senate, with a majority of just two votes.

⁴ Francis S. Bartow, a Savannah lawyer, who was killed while commanding a brigade at the first battle of Manassas. He represented Chatham County, in 1847.

⁵ John M. Clark, representative for Chatham County in 1847.

⁶ When the registration bill which had passed the Senate, 1847, reached the House, it was simply "postponed indefinitely." A memorial advocating similar legislation, submitted by the National Medical Convention of 1847, to all the state legislatures, was referred by the Georgia solons to the committees on education; which latter did not bother to report upon it.

⁷ Arnold was too optimistic here. This whole appeal, despite its vital importance, brought no official response from Speaker Anderson and the Legislature of 1849 ignored the matter, as had its predecessor.

to to prove her progress.¹ We believe our dear State has "gone ahead" in true Anglo Saxon style, but can we prove it like Cousin Jonathan? The sooner some provision is made to remedy the deficiency the better. . . . Ever since the meeting of the First National Medical Convention in 1846 held in the city of New York, my mind has been impressed with the great importance of the subject. My attention had been partially drawn to it by some Reviews in the English Quarterlies of the reports of Mr. Chadwick, the Registrar General of England,² but after the subject had been brought before that body my attention was more entirely directed to it. . . .

I am not wedded to the bill sent. Recognize *principle* & I will be satisfied. . . . I have had the bill printed at my own expense. I shall be amply repaid if it pass. Do try to explain to Mr. Jenkins³ & ask his support.

To Miss Ellen Arnold

Dearest Daughter,

Jan. 11, 1850.

. . . —————'s conduct was highly improper. In the first place I think she had better have been improving her mind than flirting with any young man. . . . I feel confident, my dear daughter, that your pride as a Lady will ever prevent you from pursuing such a course.

You see, my dear child, that our entire object in this world is to fit you to move with grace and credit to yourself in your appropriate sphere as a Lady, and . . . to keep you free from those privations and mortifications, which by a singular co-

¹ The Massachusetts legislature had, at this very time, just authorized the first survey of state health conditions ever undertaken in the country. This survey resulted, in 1850, in the submission of a famous report, prepared chiefly by Lemuel Shattuck.

² Edwin Chadwick, the famous British health reformer, never served as Registrar General. The latter office was held, 1842-1879, by Major George Graham. Chadwick acted as secretary of the Poor Law Board in the early forties, and was appointed a member of the new General Board of Health in 1848. Arnold may have intended to refer above to articles written by Chadwick while associated with the Poor Law Board; or, again, he may have intended to refer to the work of William Farr, associated with the Registrar General's office, whose famous reports on vital statistics, beginning 1841, made a great impression in both Gt. Britain and the United States.

³ Charles J. Jenkins, a Whig politician of Augusta, later Governor of Georgia; at this time the leader of the conservative, pro-Union wing of his party in the Georgia House. In this capacity he was closely associated with Dr. Arnold, when the latter also became a Union party leader. The reference above illustrates one of the cases in which Arnold used his political connections to further the interests of his profession.

incidence marked the early life of both your mother and myself. . . .

Your letter to Eliza came safely to hand. I read it to her. That night, there was an assemblage of all the servants in the kitchen and a boy of Mr. Herb's read it aloud to the great delight of the crowd. Next morning when Mary came upstairs to make the fire, she repeated nearly all the contents. . . . Tom was married on Thursday night to one of Mr. John Postell's women. Mother gave him a cake and I gave him a couple of bottles of wine. The servants are always anxious to have news of you.

Betsy has another Son. Mother says you can have him for a footman. Jasper is coming on bravely. He comes up-stairs every morning to see your Mother and cuts sundry capers about the room. . . .

Last week Miss Kimberly read Shakespeare four times at Armory Hall.¹ I was astonished and delighted. I look upon her as a woman of decided talent to have been able in so short a time to read with such dramatic effect. She . . . never had such a thought as reading Shakespeare until she heard Fanny Kemble² this month a year ago. . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold

My dearest Daughter,

April 9, 1850.

. . . All last week we had lectures from the celebrated Naturalist Professor Agassiz.³ The subjects were Zoology and Comparative Physiology. He had crowded audiences and was very interesting and explained his ideas in the clearest manner. This week Miss Cushman⁴ is performing here.

To Dr. Jas. M. Green,

M *Corresponding Sec. Medical Society of the State of Ga.*

Dear Sir,

April 18, 1850.

. . . Pray keep up the Society. There is but little spirit here.

¹ A building used as an academy for girls; eventually taken over by the city public school system.

² Frances A. Kemble, the English actress, author of the famous *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839*.

³ Professor Louis J. R. Agassiz, the Swiss and American naturalist.

⁴ Charlotte Cushman, the American tragic actress.

I am no longer President of our Society.¹ I declined standing & Dr. Richardson² was elected. I was informed that some of our Solons at Milledgeville fairly hooted at the idea of a Registration Bill. I owe them a grudge & will pay it yet. Is not such conduct disgusting? They said it was a trick of the Doctors. My business prevented me from going up in person. . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold, Phila.

My dearest Daughter,

April 19, 1850.

. . . You must not be too impatient about the time of our coming on, . . . I am very much embarrassed about a servant for mother. One does not like to take a slave on, for the rascally abolitionists would entrap her, and besides neither Eliza or Mary is fit to go on. The laws of our State do not permit a free person to return after having gone to a Northern State, so I am deprived of the choice of many good servants among them accustomed to nursing. I tell Mother I could nurse her going and coming, and we could hire a servant when in Philadelphia.³

To Mrs. Louisa McAllister, New York

My dear Mrs. McAllister,

Dec. 6, 1850.

Ellen on her arrival home found me in the midst of an electioneering campaign, undertaken solely because I regard it as a high duty to preserve this Union. After our success on Monday week, it was insisted upon that I should start for Mayor. I did so against my wishes, for I did not want the office. Dr. Wayne's⁴ shopkeepers were too strong. Our ticket was beaten nearly 300 votes. The Polls were blocked up by gangs of Irishmen armed with bludgeons, & a man voted at the risk of a broken head. The Mayor & Marshall you are aware regulate the shopkeepers politically by *not* regulating them as to the Law. Enough of this. I now bid a long farewell to politics, provided the North do not break up this Union. . . .

¹ "The Georgia Medical Society" of Savannah. Arnold and others had revived it in 1837, but it again sank into a merely nominal existence during the fifties. A second revival was achieved during the Civil War. (See Dr. Arnold's *Annual Address Before the Georgia Medical Society*, Jan. 8, 1868, Savannah, 1868, pp. 15, 16.)

² Dr. Cosmo P. Richardson, of Savannah. He studied medicine in the office of D. W. C. Daniel, of that city, and became a popular practitioner.

³ Mrs. Arnold died shortly after this letter was written. It had been planned to take her to Philadelphia, to see her daughter there, and to spend the summer in the North.

⁴ Dr. Richard Wayne, who was mayor of Savannah for six terms between 1844 and 1858.

To Col. John W. Forney,¹ Philadelphia

My dear Forney,

Dec. 18, 1850.

I reached home night before last from Milledgeville & seize the earliest moment of leisure to write you a few lines & *post* you up as to the present rather queer state of Politics in Georgia, so far as old Party lines and names are concerned. You cannot judge correctly of matters by a reference to your own state. The able & gallant fight you have made in your paper for the constitutional rights of the South has been watched with intense anxiety by us & you have "grappled yourself to us with hooks of steel." No editor in the country North of Mason & Dixon is so well known, so highly appreciated & so warmly thanked by the people of Georgia as you are. The facts proving this which came before me at the recent meeting of our convention were highly gratifying to me, as your warm personal & political friend.

At the risk of being tedious I must go back in my narration to June last, just after my arrival home. I found a good deal of excitement prevailing as to the Clay compromise. I recollect one evening at a wine party I advocated it and spoke of the efforts of the Democratic Party at the North to support the rights of the South. I was jeered, and the reply was that both parties at the North were rotten on this subject & that the South must take care of itself & that I was wrong to place any dependence upon the Democrats. I felt indignant that this position should be assumed by Democrats, as every man at the table was. To be sure they were Carolina Democrats.² Shortly after this conversation the leading Democratic papers in the State began to assume ground upon this matter which I felt to be untenable, & such as must eventually swallow up our Party in this State in its treacherous Bogs & quick-sands. I wrote an article which was published *editorially* in the *Georgian*,³ opposing the view [taken] by the Milledgeville Union⁴ & going

¹ Democratic journalist and politician, of Pennsylvania, (then editor of the influential Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*) whom Arnold had come to know personally, probably during the latter's student days in Philadelphia.

² I. e. "Fire-Eaters," or secessionists.

³ The Savannah *Georgian*, a Democratic daily, which Arnold had owned in 1833.

⁴ The Milledgeville *Federal Union*, the central organ of the Georgia Democracy.

into detail upon the Boundary Bill,¹ which had been violently assailed by the Union. To that the Union gave a sharp reply & my rejoinder to that was published *editorially*. The Georgian [has] no writing editor & things remained in statu quo until ——— of August, when a meeting was called to approve of the proceedings [of the] Nashville Convention.² Now that convention had been a dead failure in our State at the time the election for members took place, as not three thousand votes were polled. Colquitt³ and McDonald⁴ two prominent Democrats upheld the convention & its proceedings. For Governor McDonald I entertain ——— respect & I did not like to see him fall too flat. I decided I would attend the meeting & watch events. To my surprise, for I was very far off from the chair as it was night, and I had not been considered at all about the call of the meeting, I was placed on the committee to report resolutions. I made up my mind to act, as I might this [thus?] look ——— curtain & perhaps shift a scene. One of the leaders was a young man (who had been drilled by a Carolina Gentleman who was adjutant of Mr. Cheves)⁵ introduced resolutions, but I threw cold water on them. This young gentleman advocated his resolutions before the meeting in a speech ——— of Mr. Clay,⁶ & violently denouncing the Texas Boundary Bill. As there seemed to be a disposition in many parts of the State to accept the Missouri Compromise line I said I was willing to give up my private opinions & go for that if it would insure unanimity at the South, but still I didn't expect that line could be obtained, for when the great Pennsylvanian Buchanan⁷ had gone for it in the bold manner exhibited in his celebrated Berks letter, Southern men had refused to accept it on any terms. Those resolutions were passed & Chatham County⁸ was committed to that line.

¹ Relating to the boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico. The bill was a part of Clay's "Omnibus" compromise scheme.

² The Nashville Convention of the Southern States, of 1850, held to consider the Clay Compromise, and the possibility of secession.

³ W. T. Colquitt, a former United States Senator from Georgia; and at this time a leader of the "fire-eater" wing of the state's Democracy.

⁴ Charles J. McDonald, former Democratic Governor, a secessionist leader at this time.

⁵ Langdon Cheves, one-time president of the United States Bank, and a South Carolina "fire-eater" in 1850. ⁶ Henry Clay. ⁷ James Buchanan.

⁸ In which Savannah is located. For a contemporary map, showing the Georgia counties at this time, see R. H. Shryock, *Georgia and the Union in 1850*, Durham, N. C., 1926.

A mass meeting was held at Macon in August. There it was that the present issue was joined. At Macon the cry of disunion was first raised, & the new parties had therefore to be formed. We remained quiet until after the Governor issued his proclamation for a Convention. Several prominent Whigs approached Ward & myself about the propriety of running a ticket composed of two Democrats & two Whigs. A few nights previously Ward and myself had been talking matters over & we agreed in thinking that the Whigs would annihilate us as a Party, if things went on as they were. The leading Democratic Papers, the Federal Union, The Constitutionalist,¹ The Columbus Times,² etc. had taken extreme ground. The Georgian has had no head for months past, & it was ——— Disunion ground. I & Ward decided that as all the Democratic papers would not support this, the Whigs would swamp the Democrats unless those Democrats who were true to the Union made this entirely clear. ——— had taken the stump, crying out for all past differences to be buried, all party lines to be obliterated, & for us all to unite in one band for Southern Rights. Now with them Southern Rights, & I speak advisedly, meant Secession, a Southern Congress & a Southern Confederacy. Warned in time by the indignation of the masses, they dropped the first & declared themselves fast friends of the Union. Had this Party succeeded, we Democrats who advocate Union *and* Southern Rights would have been most summarily delt with. A drum-head court martial would have been a——.

Well, after a consultation with prominent men of both parties a call was issued in both papers for a meeting irrespective of parties for the purpose of nominating candidates for the convention.³ A few ginger-pop lawyers met in conclave & drew up some resolutions which they intended to cram down our throats. When the meeting took place they were offered & a great deal of excited feeling was produced. Great disorder ensued. Our opponents moved an adjournment *sine die*. They failed. They then cried out for all who were in favor of Southern Rights to withdraw. I was very angry & I told one fellow that

¹ The Augusta *Constitutionalist*, a Democratic weekly.

² The Columbus *Times*, a Democratic weekly, which in this period openly avowed secessionist principles.

³ The Georgia State Convention of 1850, which met to decide for or against secession from the Union.

any man who said I, born and raised on the spot, was not in favor of Southern Rights, he was a damned Liar. The meeting, after order was restored, nominated our late ticket. This was Tuesday night. On Thursday morning the manifesto of the candidates was published, which has since been known as the Chatham Platform. As you did not then exchange with the Republican I send you a copy, that you may compare it, if you deem it worth while, with the position assumed by our convention.

The Seceders held a meeting that night on the Square near the Exchange, passing their resolutions & adjourning to Thursday night. On Thursday night they introduced Resolutions somewhat modified from their first, & appointed a Committee to report candidates for the convention. It so happened that the Mayor & entire board of Aldermen took part with the Seceders.¹ Out of twelve Aldermen there are four South Carolinians. You have had experience of that kind of Democrat. The cry was raised against Ward and myself, that we were sold to the Whigs. Although candidates in every county in the State had been selected equally for each party, it was a sin in us to run on a ticket with Whigs, although no party issue could be raised on a question involving, as this one does, the interests of every white human being in the South. On the Tuesday night following they nominated Judge Berrien² & R. T. Gibson,³ old Whigs, & Dr. Screven⁴ & Richardson,⁵ modern Democrats but old Nullifiers of 1833 & 34.⁶

¹ Mayor Richard Wayne, Aldermen Solomon Cohen, Montgomery Cumming, Robert H. Griffin, Joseph Lippman, John Mallery, Dominick O'Byrne, John F. O'Byrne, John F. Posey, Thomas Purse, J. R. Saussy, James P. Screven, Thomas M. Turner.

² Senator Berrien assumed, in 1850, a more radical position than that of the majority of his party.

³ R. T. Gibson, City Treasurer, 1864-65, Clerk of the Council, 1865, during Arnold's last administration.

⁴ Dr. James P. Screven, a physician who at this time had given up his practice, to devote himself to business and politics. Like Arnold, he had studied under Dr. W. R. Waring, and at the University of Pennsylvania.

⁵ Probably John Richardson, who was an alderman, 1857-58, 1859-61.

⁶ "Old Whigs;" viz. representatives of the small group of Georgia Whigs who had retained the state-rights views which had originally characterized that party, 1833-1840. "Modern Democrats but old Nullifiers;" viz. state-rights men of 1833 who had later joined the Democratic party, despite the pro-Union tendencies which had hitherto characterized the same. These two groups served as a basis for the new Southern-Rights party of 1850.

Lines were now distinctly drawn but our adversaries would not state their views openly. We did & that frankness saved the County, & I must believe from what many gentlemen told me at Milledgeville that many doubtful counties other than Chatham were also saved by assuming the position so concisely & distinctly laid down in that paper which is from the pen of Mr. Cuyler.¹ A fiercer political campaign I have never passed through. We canvassed the whole county. I was joined with noble colleagues who boldly defined & eloquently defended their views on the all-absorbing subject. You know the influence of political power. That of the city was against us.

Judge Berrien having declined a nomination, Mr. R. H. Griffin,² son in Law to the Mayor was nominated. We triumphed by an average of one hundred & sixty.³ Our city guard amount to about one hundred men. In spite of threats most of them being adopted citizens voted the Union Ticket. So of the shopkeepers. This is a class of men unknown to you. They keep little groceries licensed by the city & deal principally with the negroes. Now there are two sources of profits when dealing with the Negroes. First the county negroes supply a large part of the live poultry, eggs, etc. consumed here. Each county negro has a patch of land to himself, & if he be industrious he has plenty of time to cultivate it & raise certain kinds of vegetables, poultry, etc. Second, as there are some rascals in every race & class of men, some negroes prefer abstracting from their masters' Cotton Houses or Rice Barns, enough wherewithal to satisfy their extra want. These little shops afford an ever ready market where the demand is always equal to the supply. The equivalent given whether for cash or in barter is generally liquor. These men often acquire large fortunes. On the first Tuesday of this month, a man who commenced one of these negro shops with perhaps not fifty dollars of capital, some thirteen years [ago],

¹ Probably R. R. Cuyler, president of the Georgia Central Railroad. (It is possible, however, that Arnold referred to W. H. Cuyler, who had been an alderman, for several terms between 1834 and 1845). The paper here referred to was termed the "Chatham Platform," and became the basis of the famous "Georgia Platform." The latter, issued as a series of resolutions by the State Convention of 1850, well expressed the views of the Union men throughout the South.

² Robert H. Griffin, then an alderman.

³ The "Union Party," made up of pro-Union Democrats and Whigs, were represented in the State convention by Dr. Arnold, J. E. Ward, F. S. Bartow, and R. R. Cuyler—a distinguished delegation.

bought at public outcry some wharf property for which he paid \$19,000. These men are pests and corrupt our negroes terribly. Of course there are some exceptions. They are especially under the surveillance of the Mayor and the City Marshall, whose duty it is to see that they take out licenses to trade only within legal hours. To a man almost they are adopted citizens and they voted the Union ticket.

The Union ticket was openly and warmly supported by all the leading Democrats, such as Judges Nicoll,¹ Henry,² Charlton,³ Henry R. Jackson,⁴ DeLyon,⁵ and Drysdale,⁶ by Mr. George W. Owens⁷ and his two sons, splendid fellows and Lawyers, John and George, by old Mr. W. B. Bulloch⁸ and by all his family, by the Andersons,⁹ the Mimses [Minises?], the Waldburgs,¹⁰ the Lloyds,¹¹ in short, by every one of our old Savannah Democratic families, except the Mayor Dr. Wayne and his brother. Their uncle Judge Wayne was hot with us. That however is not much, for that supreme court bench makes men always lean to a strong central government.¹²

¹ John C. Nicoll, a prosperous lawyer, who served as alderman, 1836-38, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1822-1834.

² Charles S. Henry, who served as alderman, 1834-35, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1834-1837.

³ Robert M. Charlton, mayor of Savannah from 1839 to 1841, and prior to this Judge of the Superior Court.

⁴ Henry R. Jackson, at one time Judge of the Superior Court, and also United States attorney in Savannah. In the latter capacity, he was prosecutor in the federal court in the famous case of the *Wanderer*, involving the illicit foreign slave trade.

⁵ Levi S. De Lyon, descendent of one of the able Jewish families which came to Savannah soon after its settlement. He was a prosperous lawyer, and served as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1838-1845.

⁶ Alexander J. Drysdale, who served as alderman, 1837-40, and as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1851-53.

⁷ George W. Owens, at one time Democratic congressman from the first district. (For map showing the congressional districts of Georgia in this period, see R. H. Shryock, *Georgia and the Union in 1850*, p. 171.)

⁸ William B. Bulloch, a bank officer and lawyer. He served as alderman for three terms, between 1811 and 1825; and for three terms as mayor, between 1809 and 1812.

⁹ John W. Anderson, and Edward C. Anderson; the latter served eight terms as mayor, 1854-1877.

¹⁰ Probably the family of Jacob Waldburg, who served as alderman, 1844-1845. They were Arnold's personal friends.

¹¹ Probably the family of Thomas C. Lloyd, who was an alderman in 1820.

¹² James M. Wayne, a Savannah lawyer, who had an unusually interesting career. After serving as a Jackson Democrat in Congress, he was appointed to the United States Supreme Court by President Jackson. He was still a member of that body when Georgia seceded from the Union; and, upon his refusal to resign, he was declared a public enemy by a Confederate court in Georgia, and his property confiscated.

After election for Delegates the leading men of the Union Party insisted that I should start for Mayor.¹ I objected. They all knew I did not want the office, for it would interfere too much with my profession. They replied that by running me for Mayor and six Democrats and six Whigs for Alderman, we would succeed. I replied that the opposite party were already in the field and had assumed the Democratic flag which was powerful with many, that the patronage of the city was very great, that Dr. Wayne was known to be a man who would not hesitate to use it to the best advantage for himself and party. Besides I knew that a great support to our ticket and to me personally had been derived from many men holding office who could not and would not be intimidated, but that opposition now would unite these men as one, for their bread depended on their offices, and I could not nor should not blame any of them for opposing me. The truth is that I had helped some of these poor devils to city offices, and I did not feel any great desire to turn them out. I ended by stating my belief that any ticket would be beaten, but that under our recent organization gentlemen opposed to me on old party lines had supported me handsomely and faithfully, I thought it my duty to yield to them and to my old party friends now acting with them on this new issue.

At the election all the Whigs who had voted the Southern Rights ticket the preceding Monday voted the Democratic (so called) ticket. The Guard House is 70 yards distant from the Court House, visible through an open square. The City Guards were kept there in mass and when the polls were opened, they marched up *en masse* with tickets marked by their officers to vote for that side. The day was then before them to electioneer and bully and I must do them the credit to say that they proved that they had learned their lesson well. The shopkeepers openly proclaimed that they had a Mayor who suited them very well, and that if elected I would fine every shop-keeper a hundred dollars who might be convicted of breaking the ordinances.

¹ A local election in Savannah followed shortly after the elections to the State convention, Arnold, in running for mayor, was placed in a peculiar position. He ran on the new Union party ticket, which had just been victorious in Chatham county in the State election, largely because of support by the Whigs. The Southern-Rights group in the local election held most of the Democrats, and re-assumed that party name. Hence Arnold ran against his old Democratic associates, with results explained above.

When I was Mayor eight years ago the Sailor Landlords used to attack ships with fire arms and steal off sailors while the ships were at anchor below the city. I was in the State Senate that year and had a bill passed extending the jurisdiction of the city over the river down to its mouth. As in duty bound I protected the commerce of the city whenever I could and punished those who violated the Laws. This was raked up against me. These charges slept before, because I would not be brought in contact with them in the convention, but as Mayor the case was altered. . . . Another point which I had forgotten. This being a municipal election we lost the county vote which was very largely in our favor.

When I saw the city guard come up in solid phalanx and observed the whole Police of the city evidently organized and at work for electioneering, I knew the die was cast. When I came to breakfast I told my daughter I was beaten, at which the little minx told me she was very glad, for ever since my Mayoralty when I was nearly killed in a riot at night her mother and she always have had the greatest horror of my again running such a risk. The scenes at the polls that day were really shameful. The area in front of the court house (our only place for holding an election) was filled from 2 o'clock to 6 o'clock P. M. with a band of Irishmen with shillalahs, who raised a shout and blocked up the way whenever one of our men was bringing up a voter, but whenever one of theirs came along the waves were stilled and he was pushed along quietly. This course turned the current and carried in its tide all those who wait to make up their minds until they ascertain the strongest side. I was beaten, awfully. Thank God, I lost no honor. . . . I have been thus minute in order that you might understand the singular fact that one week I should run at the head of my ticket and the next be defeated by nearly three hundred votes. Personally I do not care for it. For years I have refused any and every nomination. Now that I have complied with obligations to the Union Party, in starting once, I will consult my inclination and interest by refusing to do so again.

You may ask, why did you come out for the Union Party when at Milledgeville? Now I have reserved the most important part of my letter for the last. When I left home for Milledgeville Ward and I felt and spoke to each other that between the

Party which we had opposed in our city and ourselves there was an impassible gulf. The Georgian had acted infamously. We had not been called upon to vote on any question ——— the old party issues, therefore we had violated no party honor. It was evident that the city was in the hands of extreme Southern Rights men with whom we could not affiliate. Upon my arrival up the country, to my astonishment I found that really all old Party lines were completely obliterated and that the advice given by the Southern Rights orators during the past summer to forget those lines and ——— up in one unbroken front had been followed, but that that front had been changed to a Union front.

This development did not suit Governor Towns,¹ Herschel V. Johnson,² The Federal Union, *et id genus omne*. Campbell³ of the Union said to me, "Oh we will all fall back into line." I dissented from that. Ward and I took dinner with the governor. He is awfully cut up by the result of the recent election. It was after the adjournment of the Convention and but nineteen votes had been cast against our action. We had a long and personally friendly conversation before supper and at the table. I told him candidly and openly that I was very glad he had been elected already for his [second] term, for as I had the appointment of ——— delegates from Chatham County to the first Democratic convention, had nominated him for Governor, and had searched out Towns men to report to the adjourned (?) meeting for their approval, I would dislike very much to be obliged to vote against him.

The convention met on Tuesday. On Wednesday night a meeting of citizens of the State then at Milledgeville was called to take place at the State House. Toombs⁴ and Stephens⁵ addressed it. I was not there. On Thursday I was informed that I was appointed one of a committee to draft a Platform for the organization of the Constitutional Party. I peremptorily de-

¹ George W. Towns, Governor of Georgia for two terms, 1847-1851. A Union Democrat in the thirties, he had become a leader of the secessionists by 1850; and was at this time in secret correspondence with Governor Seabrook of South Carolina, with reference to the secession of both states.

² Herschel V. Johnson, then United States Senator from Georgia; later Governor of the State, 1853-1857. In 1850 he was a "fire-eating" Democrat, but became a Union advocate during the next decade.

³ Editor of the Milledgeville *Federal Union*.

⁴ Robert Toombs, then Whig congressman.

⁵ Alexander Hamilton Stephens, then Whig congressman.

clined acting, first because I had not been consulted and was really quite ignorant of what was intended, second, because my time is occupied when at home by professional business and I could not undertake any post that would require active duties. Another meeting took place that night. I did not attend. I was loudly called for two or three times. On Friday I was requested by many to attend the meeting to be held that night. By that time I was beginning to take my bearings. I saw a perfect fusion of old Parties of both sides. The most factious opponent of the Report and Resolution was an old Whig. The supporters of it were Whigs and Democrats from all parts of the State. The word Whig or Democrat was never mentioned once in the debates of the convention. The importance of preserving this Union on a Constitutional Basis had overshadowed all other questions and it was only [on] such an issue that Parties took their ground during the last canvass, and it was this issue the majority seemed determined to keep up before the people.

I determined to take my position at once, else Chatham County Union men might not be placed in the Race. The Southern Rights men have adopted the policy of non-intervention in any ————— for President. I dissent from that. I found at Milledgeville old Democrats who thought as I did. I heard with ————— Whigs and Democrats commending Mr. Buchanan ————— to the Philadelphia meeting. I found him a general [favorite?]. I attended the meeting. I was loudly called for as soon as the minutes had been read. I spoke as well as I could, taking special care to utter no sentiment incompatible with my Democratic principles, and to give no pledge which might hereafter interfere with them. I placed myself on the broad platform of Union, our duty to sustain our conservative brethren at the North; and as to any presidential candidate hereafter that we should not stand by with folded arms but should support any man who stood with us for Union and Southern Rights, and who was ————— to us by our Northern Conservative Brethren. Had a vote [been] taken at Milledgeville I firmly believe that James Buchanan would have been the choice of the majority. I mentioned no more, but although he was not on my lips, he was in my heart. I doubt whether the Union Party [as] such will cohere, as it is *too strong in numbers and talents*. You understand this. But had I refused

to join it, as I could not join the other, I would have verified the old adage at coming to the ground. Ward and Bartow were both sick the night I took my stand. Ward entirely approves my course.

Now my dear friend, have I given you any information worth the perusal of this long epistle? My object has been to put you on your guard so as not to be misled by quondam Democratic, now fire eating Newspapers in Georgia. Wait, the Union Party has the strength of the Democratic and Whig Parties in it. How this new loaf will rise and above all how it will be baked time alone can show. Thank you kindly for your warm and partial notice to me. Remember me to all those choice spirits whom I have met in your company. . . .

To John W. Forney

My dear Forney,

June 17, 1851.

I have been dilatory in replying to your last letter but the truth of the matter is I have been very much occupied professionally and some how or other I cannot take up my pen unless under some strong stimulus. The Georgian in a recent onslaught on my consistency supplied this stimulus and in its issue this morning you will find a letter from me to the writing Editor, Mr. Holton, defending myself and laying down what I conceive to be the real issue involved in our present contest in this state.

I confess that I wrote this letter as much to "post you up" and show you our position, as for anything else. I wished to show Democrats in other States how we really are situated here. The papers which now cry out Democracy, were loud in favor of Southern Rights last fall. The idea of our being gulled by Toombs and Stephens is ridiculous. I cannot help what position they take hereafter on the Presidential question. They now coincide with me as to the compromise and I am happy to see that the Democracy of Pennsylvania supports my view of that measure. It is the true question at issue. Whether we are to abide by that or join our fortunes to those of South Carolina. However, I have defended and explained my position and that of my brother Union Democrats as well as I could in the article in question. I cling and will ever cling to the National Democratic Party as the ark of Political Safety, for the Union and the rights of the States.

I may be deceived but I believe Mr. Buchanan to be the favorite of Georgia in the next campaign. I passed through Georgia in April following the Rail Roads to Atlanta and thence to Augusta and amongst Union men I found him always well spoken of. But the Southern Rights party will not sustain him. . . . I will bide my time. Everybody here knows me as the avowed friend of Mr. Buchanan. I am not to be jostled off the Democratic Platform by a few ultra Southern Rights Democrats.

Cobb¹ dined with me when here. We had a glorious party, all of us Union Democrats. . . . We drank your health with all the honors. Cobb says that if you ever pay me that visit I hope to have from you, he will come to Savannah purposely to dine with you. I am sure we should have a fine time with you and him together. I would "tie up my knocker" and cut the profession for the day. I wish you all success in your candidateship for clerk.² You will receive the vote of every Union Democrat from Georgia.

Keep a bright look out on our contest here. You will soon see our real position on either side. Holton in his strictures on my letter this morning virtually acknowledges the truth of what I say. I observe the Federal Union thinks you in a fog [?] because you do not abuse the Union Democrats. I do not wish you to commit yourself either way. I beg of you a careful perusal of my letter of this morning. I repeat I wrote it as much for you as for the Georgian.³ Remember me kindly to any of the glorious fellows who cluster around you, who may remember the pleasant times we have had together under your auspices. For yourself accept assurance of my warm regard and friendship.

M *To Dr. Thos. Y. Senior,⁴ Charleston*

Dear Sir,

June 20, 1851.

Yours of the 17th came yesterday. I shall answer your question in relation to the Small Pox in our city with perfect frank-

¹ Howell Cobb, then Democratic congressman; later Governor, 1851-53, and member of President Buchanan's cabinet.

² Of the national House of Representatives.

³ Arnold was anxious that influential northern Democrats should recognize that Georgia "Union-Democrats" had not left the party, while coöperating with Georgia Whigs to form the temporary Union party. His friend Forney was in a position to aid him here, through his editorship of the Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*, (1845-1851).

⁴ City Health Officer of Charleston.

ness. In the first place, you know that from the loathsomness of that disease, it strikes a greater panic into the public than any other, independently of its contagiousness. Our city has always been very rigid in removing every case from within the limits to the Pest House four and a half miles from the city. During the time I was connected with the Health Office, some six years, more than eighty cases thus passed through my hands, taken principally from the shipping. It never obtained foothold in the city. During the winter several cases had been sent to the Pest House, which had originated in New York, Augusta and Jacksonville, Florida. On my return from Charleston, I learned that several cases had occurred among the negroes, originating along the wharves and, it is believed here, from the Augusta boat negroes, for it is a certain fact that this disease has been in Augusta to a greater or less extent all winter. A great many negroes are employed on the boats and flats in the trade betwixt this place and that & a fine opportunity was thus offered for its propagation. . . .

In all some seventeen negroes have been sent out of the city to the Pest House. They compose *all* of the black population who have been affected. As the Pest House was occupied by blacks, there was no place to send whites. To the best of my knowledge and belief, there have been up to the present time inclusive, not more than eight cases of variola & varioloid amongst the whites. . . .

Every precaution has been taken. These cases in town have been rigidly isolated. Vaccination & revaccination have been universal. Indeed it was a bore to be pestered as the Doctors were as to vaccination. So universal has this been that if, as I firmly [believe], it has preventive powers, there is very little food for the disease. I distinctly say to you that there is no evidence of an epidemic prevalence. . . . I permitted my daughter (an only child) to return to the city from the Country where she was on a visit. I could give no better evidence of what is my belief as to danger. I know, my dear Sir, that as Health Officer you have a responsible duty to fulfil.¹ I know your discrimination & judgment & I have every confidence in your liberality, but I must say that we here think that your citizens seek every

¹ Arnold was familiar with the duties then common to this office, having held it in Savannah, 1835, 1839-41. He had also served as special "public vaccinator," in 1830.

opportunity to give us of Savannah a sly "dig under the fifth rib." To this day we laugh at the Quarantine imposed by Charleston upon cotton bags from Savannah in 1849 because Cholera had broken out on some plantations on the River, but we never implicated medical men in it. We knew that it arose from the commercial rivalry between the two cities, and that your mercantile men, a powerful & influential class in any community, had seized upon the cholera as a pretext to injure the reputation & trade of Savannah. . . .

Excuse me, my dear Sir, for my warmth. Our city has suffered materially in its retail trade from the exaggerated rumors as to the prevalence of Small Pox amongst [us] & I as a Georgian feel sore at the course pursued by some of your Charleston Papers to injure the reputation of Savannah for health. . . .

When I again visit Charleston I shall be most happy to avail myself of your kind offer to renew & extend an acquaintance with each other. It seems in vain to ask any man North of you to come Southward. Hence I despair of seeing any of my brother Physicians in our city, where it would give me great pleasure to meet them.

To John E. Ward

My dear Ward,

Sept. 1, 1851.

. . . I heard from Forney a few weeks since. I have not yet answered him, as I want to wait and send him trustworthy information. The accounts from the up country are cheering for our cause. This county is gone as far as we are concerned. Hopkins¹ is a dead weight although a living ass. We shall be unable to get up a decent legislature ticket. Bartow wishes to run but he will not [only] sink himself but any two men with him, for the opposition to Judge Berrien is so strong amongst some of the old Whigs of the Union Party that they would not support the Judge for the Senate.² ——— Montmollin,³ Tucker⁴ and Prendergast⁵ wish to have me start for Mayor at the next election. I do not wish to do so. I am more independent and

¹ Probably Mathew Hopkins, who served three terms as alderman, between 1834 and 1845.

² Berrien had refused to support the Clay Compromise; hence he had alienated his old Whig associates who now made up the bulk of the Union party. Bartow was his son-in-law.

³ Probably John S. Montmollin, who served two terms as alderman, 1858-'62.

⁴ John F. Tucker, alderman, 1858-62.

⁵ E. M. Prendergast, sheriff of the city court, 1856-1860.

more respectable out of office, and look upon my professional position as far higher and more important than any political one which would be within my reach. Besides, the disorganization and corruption of city affairs are awful and it would be a labor of Hercules to clean out the political stables.

We have had intense excitement here about Cuba. A large company has been raised here and is on board the *Pamero*, which for the last two weeks has been lying about the creeks South, off and near Sapelo.¹ Henry Williamson commands it.² . .

To John W. Forney

My dear Forney,

Sept. 9, 1851.

. . . I write to you merely to post you up a little in our politics and keep you from obtaining false impressions from that ultra secession nullification sheet the *Georgian*, which considers the preponderance of the National Democratic Party but as a feather in the scale compared to the ——— its oft refuted but ultra doctrines about State Sovereignty. I cannot help laughing when I hear some few old Jackson Democrats *now* going it large upon Secession and the entire Sovereignty of the State. I owned and edited the *Georgian* in 1833 and 1834, two of the most eventful political years since the War. In looking over my copy of that paper I am really proud to see that I have not changed my views one iota. I could take some of my old editorials, and by just changing the word Nullification, then the point in dispute, into Secession, they would suit the present crisis; for then as now the dispute was as to the right of a State to do whatever she might think fit without any reference to her co-States. In those days the Union Democratic-Republican Party (see what a long tail our cat had) of Georgia upheld Gen'l. Jackson, and the Force Bill. Gov. McDonald was then a prominent member of that Party, you know where he is now. Did my time allow me to write for the newspapers I think I could give

¹ Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, below Savannah.

² The last Lopez filibustering expedition to Cuba originally made Savannah its base, and was trying to get away at this time. There was much popular sympathy for it, especially in the South. The watchfulness of the federal authorities, however, prevented the securing of necessary papers at Savannah; so that the expedition eventually went to New Orleans, whence it left for Cuba later this year, on the *Pampero* above mentioned. The project ended in a fiasco, most of the leaders being executed by the Spanish authorities.

some of our Southern Rights Democrats some hard shot from old Party History.

I am glad to see the Washington Union¹ opening its eyes to the ridiculous pretensions of some of the Southern Rights Presses to be the only and real Pure Democrats. The Washington Republic² has also found a mare's nest in Georgia, endeavoring to identify the opposers of the Compromise in the South exclusively amongst the Democrats with a very few exceptions, because in Georgia all the old Democratic Presses except two oppose. The Editor is not posted up. The same state of things occurred last fall and the Union ticket was elected by a popular majority of 23,000, a majority never approached in any previous election. Three thousand majority will cover our see saws in politics on either side. Now it is notorious in Georgia that a great many Whigs are among the Southern Rights Party. Whence then this immense majority if not from the mass of the two parties of Whigs and Democrats:³

I delayed in answering your letter, in part because I wished to get some information to communicate to you about the probable result of the present canvass. Our own county I give up. A large portion of our voters are Irish.⁴ They go for Democracy and this word is potent with them. The municipal officers are Southern Rights to a man. They cunningly discarded the name of Southern Rights last fall and hoisted the old Democratic flag. This contributed greatly to my defeat as Mayor last fall. My opponents most unfairly represented me to them as a renegade from Democracy. They tried the same game at the election of delegates to the convention, but as they called their party the Union-Southern Rights party I could head them there. But when I ran on the Union and Southern Rights ticket against what my opponents had styled the Democratic ticket it was up with me for I lost strength in my own stronghold, for the Irish have always had faith in me. . . .

¹ National organ of the Democracy.

² A Whig paper, which supported the Taylor faction, 1849-'50.

³ The facts seem to have been that about 3,000 Whig voters joined the Southern-Rights party, while some 13,000 Democrats joined the Union party. This meant that about seventy per cent of Arnold's Union party were Whigs.

⁴ About one-third of the Savannah white population in 1850, was foreign-born; a higher percentage than that in some northern ports. This Savannah foreign element, (chiefly Irish, but also in part British and German), made up more than one third of the total foreign population of Georgia, which numbered at that time about sixty-five hundred.

Chatham is the only county in the State in which there is any attempt made in this canvass to revive, or stand on old Party lines. A strong ticket for the Legislature would redeem us but we can't get it. Bartow's connection with Judge Berrien (his son in law) weakens him with the Union Party. They wish me to run for the Senate. I cannot and I will not, Politics are the episode, but my profession the main business of my life. Whatever I can I will do with all my heart. This prevented me from running for Congress.

From all other sections of the State the news is most cheering. The latest estimate gives Cobb 10,000 majority. This you see allows a loss of 13,000 from last fall. You say you regret this contest here in Georgia. My friend, it could not be avoided in any manner. Had we not taken the stand we did last Fall Georgia would have tacked to the skirts of South Carolina. My Georgia blood and all my old anti-Nullification associations revolted against it. I also really and truly believe the Union to be in imminent danger. These causes made me take the stand I did as one of the Union Party. Many of my old political associates did. The Southern Press was started to aid the South. *I never subscribed to it, for I believed in old Ritchie and the Union.*¹ All the Democrats who did, are now rabid Secessionists. "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

The 4th Resolution of the Georgia Convention proves that while we are good Union Men we are none the less true Southerners. I believe that Resolution, every word of it.² . . . I honor the Democratic Party of all the non-slave holding States except Ohio for their position, and yours in Pennsylvania will alone preserve this Union. It proves that I was right last year in asserting the fealty of the Northern Democrats to the Constitutional rights of the South. The Georgian throughout this whole campaign has been *mum* about the great Democracy of Pennsylvania. . . . You have no idea of the ultraism of these men. They dare not come out openly for disunion. There is their mistake. The South, having been degraded and dishonored, according to their views, it would be more manly to take an

¹ Thomas Ritchie, of Virginia, for many years editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, and later of the Washington *Union*.

² This resolution specified the possible "northern aggressions" which Georgia would resist even to the point of secession. It "put teeth" into the Convention resolutions, generally known as "The Georgia Platform."

open stand and rally for Disunion. Instead of that they repudiate Disunion, while they do everything in their power to foment discord between the North and South. . . . I was assured by several leading Democrats in the up country that my letter was very timely and acceptable to them. Nearly every Union paper republished it. . . .

I have no apprehension about Fillmore¹ becoming a favorite in this State. Just now, when our hearts are bleeding for the unfortunate termination of the effort to free Cuba, Fillmore is perfectly hated by all friends of Cuban independence, which means nineteen out of every twenty men. The Republican acts with its usual want of judgement in trying to shield the imbecile Owen² . . .

I watch with great interest the demonstrations in favor of Buchanan. I believe him to be the man to save the Union. Mark my words. The election of a Free Soiler to the Presidency marks the utmost limit of this Union. It cannot last beyond. Mr. Buchanan will unite the South. A few ultra Whigs may refuse to support him but the mass of that Party South will accept him. If Scott³ be started the result will be certain. . . . If Scott runs against Buchanan, the latter must get all the Southern States. I am afraid Buchanan's constant "courage and consistency" in behalf of the Constitutional rights of the South has injured him too much in the Non slave holding States. If supported there he will be our next President. . . .

You can form some idea of the bragging of the S. R. Party⁴ from the recent result in Mississippi. For my part I regret these divisions among Southern men. Unless the National Democracy succeed I think the time will soon come when every Southerner must stand in hostile array against Free soil Fanaticism. God avert the evil day. Remember me kindly to Forrest.⁵

¹ Millard Fillmore, President of the United States, 1850-1853.

² A. F. Owen, then Georgia Whig representative in Congress.

³ General Winfield Scott.

⁴ Southern-Rights party.

⁵ Edwin Forrest, the actor. Forney was a devoted friend of Forrest; and a few years after this his support of the actor, in the latter's divorce suit, led to his condemnation by Southern Democrats. Arnold, however, does not mention the incident in his letters, though he knew both men intimately.

To Howell Cobb, Milledgeville

My dear Cobb,

Oct. 31, 1851.

Your obliging letter of the 22 inst. was duly received. In compliance with a request contained in it I now write to remind you of my application in behalf of my brother-in-law, Mr. I. Elton Stirk for the appointment of Keeper of the Arsenal in this City. . . .

I am not able to leave the city just at this time as I am very much occupied, but I shall certainly pay Milledgeville a visit during the session. I would prefer a more quiet time than the opening of the session usually is, as I have no aspirations for anything the assembled wisdom of the State has it in its power to bestow.

Forney is up to his eyes in business and politics. According to the New York Herald¹ he claimed Georgia as a Democratic victory. In a card in his paper he says he did not do that. . . . I observe, however, that in a transparency at Tammy Hall Georgia figured with Pennsylvania and Ohio as a state recently illustrated by a Democratic victory. Well, after all, that is not so much out of the way. Tariff and Bank are obsolete, and I think the last contest was really an old fashioned one of Jackson Union Democracy against Nullification with a new name. I enjoyed very much the squirming of the Columbus [Georgia] Times under an article of mine headed a Parallel, in which I compared you and "glorious" John Forsyth² in your respective positions before the people of Georgia when he returned hither after having voted for the Force Bill and you, after having supported the compromise. "Little" John,³ in his paper of the 10th Sept., was very much indignant and so was "a Democrat and Union Man of 1833 and a resistance man of 1851", a correspondent. . . .

If you have never seen the Times, I am certain you would be amused and I'll put the paper in my trunk when I go up to Milledgeville. . . . Pardon me for tresspassing so long upon your patience and as you have not yet donned the robes of

¹ Democratic daily.

² John Forsyth, at various times representative, senator, and governor of Georgia, United States minister to Spain, and secretary of state during Jackson's second administration. He died in 1841.

³ John Forsyth, then editor of the Columbus (Georgia) Times; he was a son of "glorious" John Forsyth.

office,¹ let me subscribe myself without the formalities of etiquette, as your sincere friend.

To J. W. Anderson, Milledgeville

Dear John,

Nov. 15, 1851.

Unless we get strong Democratic names on the Alderman's ticket, we shall lose everything. The old cry of Whig trick will be raised with crushing effect. Already they have raised a report that you wished to drop present distinctions and go back to old Party lines and that you would support Purse² for Mayor.

Our friends are confident of victory with a good ticket but they all see the difficulty of getting Democrats of a certain caliber on it. It is the earnest wish of the Executive committee for you to allow your name to be put on the ticket for Alderman. . . . I write to beg you to run. I ask it politically and personally. I did not spare any exertion in the last canvass and I look to my friends to support me now. If you do not run, I shall hesitate about allowing myself to be run for Mayor. My present impression is that I will not run without strong Democrats to back me. I am willing to run for Mayor at present, for ulterior objects.³ I want Democrats in power in the city, for the next Presidential campaign. It would assist the cause. I await your answer with anxiety. Much, very much depends on your decision.

To Miss Ellen Arnold n. d. [1851].

My Dearest Daughter,

. . . I say again that it was an unjustifiable thing to put any female in so perilous a situation, and I swear that under no circumstances should any Lady over whom I had any control, attempt such a ride. Everybody knows that going down hill on horseback is more or less dangerous. But let this subject drop, thanking God for your escape. Rest assured of one thing, under Mr. Lawton's care you would have run no such risk.

I wished you, my dear Ellen, to enjoy yourself as much as you could but I am afraid you have made a business of pleasure.

¹ Cobb had been elected Governor in 1851, on the Union party ticket.

² Thomas Purse, who was chosen mayor by the Council, 1861-1862.

³ Arnold ran, and was elected for his second term as mayor, 1851-1852. Anderson, acceding to his request, ran for and was elected to Council for the same year.

I do not approve of your excessive dancing and your constant late hours. Every other night is quite enough. . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold

German St. Hall, Baltimore,

My dearest child,

June —, 1852.

Ere this shall have reached you the telegram¹ will have informed you of the result of our deliberations and the adjournment of the convention.² Georgia stuck by that soldier of the constitution James Buchanan until all hope was lost. I rejoice that I was somewhat instrumental in throwing the vote thus; the majority of the Union Democrats were for Cass,³ but would be willing to vote for Buchanan, the majority of Southern Rights Democrats were for Douglas⁴ but also [would] be willing to vote for Buchanan, while a portion of both Delegations was warmly in favor of Buchanan and opposed to both Cass and Douglas. But all was of no avail. These three parties had too many elements of hostility towards each other to combine for the choice of either. Buchanan had the support of a larger number of Democratic States than any other candidate. The convention was obliged to concentrate on a new man, General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, an able and accomplished man, distinguished as a United States Senator, as a General in the Mexican War, and as decided supporter of the rights of the South.

On the whole we are very well satisfied. Our position as Democrats has been fully recognized by the National Democracy, we have united cordially with the Southern Rights delegates on terms of perfect equality; and the Convention have adopted as part and parcel of the Democratic Creed, the very position which was laid down in Georgia as the platform of the Union Party, viz. acquiescence in the compromise and a

¹ Telegraphic connection between Savannah and the North was first established in 1848.

² Arnold was chosen a Union-Democratic delegate to the Democratic national convention, 1852. It was tacitly understood, at this time, that he was one of the State leaders of the Union wing of his party. See, e. g. letter of John B. Lamar to Howell Cobb, Macon, July 1, 1852, U. B. Phillips, (ed.), *Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb Correspondence*, p. 307.

³ Lewis Cass, senator from Michigan, defeated candidate for the presidency in 1848.

⁴ Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois.

stringent enforcement of it which can maintain its efficiency,—in a phrase, what has been called “the finality of the compromise.” . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold

My dearest Daughter,

July 26, 1852.

. . . The people of McIntosh¹ appointed a Judge and Jury, tried five of the Negroes who killed James Houston on Saturday, and hung them on Monday. Although the murder was an atrocious one, connected with circumstances of cruelty lately confessed, and although the evidence was clear and incontrovertible, this is an outrage upon Law and order which leaves an indelible disgrace upon that County and tarnishes the honor of our State. It also injures us in other communities and will be rolled as a sweet morsel under the tongue of the abolitionists. . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold, Cape Island Pt., N. Jersey

My dearest Daughter,

July 30, 1852.

. . . Be careful when you are bathing. By the way, I read in the Newspaper the other day, some severe strictures on the liberties Ladies gave themselves when at Watering Places, and the swell which gamblers made there, being generally the greatest Bucks of the Place. I know though that Southern girls are more reserved than the Northern ones as a general Rule, and I mention this only to warn you not to trust too much to a genteel outside. . . .

Anonymous

My dear Cousin,

Aug. 15, 1852.

. . . James Houston bought a small island near Harris neck to plant on and moved his negroes thither. It was isolated, and when there one day entirely by himself, having paddled himself down, his negroes siezed him, chained him, beat him, breaking his jaw and arm, and at the end of the day finished their horrid work by breaking his skull with an axe. At first, he was thought to have been drowned, but when several days had elapsed without the body having been found suspicions were aroused and an arrest of the driver having been made, confessions were made which led to the arrest [of] four negro men and one woman.

¹ A Georgia coastal county, below Savannah.

These were the ones hung by the McIntosh people, who fearing an insurrection, as they said, would not wait the course of the law; but held several public meetings, at the last one appointed three free-holders as Judges, as was formerly done in Colonial times, drew a Jury, put the negroes on trial, took testimony, convicted them on a Saturday and hung them on the Monday following. This great outrage on the Law is palliated by them on the plea that the negroes were on the point of rising in insurrection and that an example was necessary to warn them. The negroes greatly outnumbered the whites there and have certainly been behaving very insubordinately lately. . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold

My dearest Daughter,

Aug. 22, 1852.

I can't say that the bathing proceedings are quite to my taste. I am afraid there is something at times to shock the sensitive delicacy which ought ever to characterize the well bred girl. I agree with you as to the public manifestations of a husband's love for his wife, but I shall keep that letter to ask where you picked up one or two expressions in it.

I hope on the whole that you enjoyed your visit to Cape May. . . . Your letter of the 15th last received contains matter which has given me some serious thoughts, for of all delicate things in the world, a young lady's character is the most delicate when she is made the subject of remarks as to a young man's attention to her. There is nothing "absurd" in anybody's paying attention to you, for I flatter myself that your birth and education as a Gentlewoman place you on a footing against anybody in any part of the Country. But I do not think it is good taste to joke a young lady because common civility is paid to her by one of her young male acquaintances, and I detest people who think every little attention is meant for courtship. . .

To Dr. I. B. Porter,¹ Fort Moultrie, Sullivan's Island²

My dear Doctor,

Nov. 2, 1852.

Yesterday I received a note from you accompanying a communication relative to the prevalence of Yellow Fever on

¹ Presumably an Army Medical Department physician.

² In the harbor of Charleston, S. C.

Sullivan's Island, with a request that we should have it inserted in our own papers if I thought best.

On reflection I have decided it best not to publish it. It would inevitably lead to angry altercation between you and the Charleston Press. I consider the course of that press towards Savannah as malignant and vindictive; malignant because they have resorted to falsehood, vindictive because it was with the intention to lessen the trade and commerce of this place. But I am willing to let them go on. Still, my agency in publishing your letter would be attributed to revenge, and being the Chief Magistrate of our city I would be assailed with great bitterness. Now, although once an Editor myself, I must say that as a general rule nowadays one might as well wrestle with a chimney sweep as with an Editor. . . .

To John W. Forney

My dear Forney,

May 15, 1853.

Yours of the 3rd inst. came duly to hand. I have no doubt that you are wearied and worried with all kinds of demands and complaints. But such is the penalty of high political station, and the former Editor of the *Pennsylvanian* must pay for his glory. What is the reason that no more has been made as to the Post Office and the Appraiserships? I write again most earnestly to urge Judge Henry for the first and Mr. Thos. Purse for the second. . . . It is important to keep up a good feeling here by appointing proper men. . . .

The Union Democrats of Georgia have been a little sore about appointments, and this would go very far to alleviate any ill feeling on that ground. . . . The union of the two wings in our last campaign was owing to our set in Savannah and Judge Jackson was more instrumental in carrying out the result of our consultations than any other man. . . .

If I can possibly spare the time I will go with Ward to our gubernatorial Convention and endeavor with him to harmonize all discordant elements. This will be our great effort here at any rate. The *Georgian Newspaper* is unfortunately too touchy and too capricious, else we might use it occasionally. As it is, the Union Democrats labour under a great disadvantage in that we have neither a paper nor an Editor in whom we can fully trust. One other point, Cobb is our standard bearer, our

personal & political friend & we are determined to stick to him at all hazards. We have a plan here to get Hillyer off the track and let Cobb run for Congress in his old District.

And now my friend what is your position in the political medley? Are you ever to be the ladder by which men mount to profit and honor? Strike while the Iron is hot. Your position is a most enviable one as regards its honorary part, but the world owes every man a living commensurate with his talents. . . . I want to see you at the head of *the* National Democratic Newspaper, providing it can be made to pay. What is to become of the Washington Union? . . .

Is there any truth in the report of President Pierce's health failing him? . . .

To John E. Ward, Newport, Rd. Is.

Dear Ward,

Sept. 7, 1853.

. . . The last Federal Union says openly that Cobb has declined the mission to France. The Republican with its dirty affinities [?] attributes his declining to his desire to go to the Senate. Your letter reveals the true cause, as a sense of delicacy amounting to Chivalry, an offering of Ambition on the altar of kind feeling which is seldom witnessed. And yet while I admire the sensitiveness which has ordered the sacrifice, I do not approve of it. . . . Now the morbid vanity of our other friend ought to have been treated as a mono-mania. . . .

I hope Forney's anticipations may be realized but (oh Major Porter!) New York City has always been a bad place for a Democratic Newspaper. However I presume he sees his way clear.¹ . . .

Which dinner was the better, the one at the Astor² or the one at Delmonico's?³ Never having penetrated further than their *table d'hôte* I do not know what Coleman and Stetson can do for a private party. Is not Raymond⁴ an Abolitionist? A propos, what do you think of the arrest of Patrick Sneed at Niagara?

¹ The Pierce administration desired to establish a favorable newspaper in New York City, and Forney was selected as editor, the second time he had been promised such a post. In both cases, political complications prevented the realization of the plan.

² The Astor House, New York City.

³ Delmonico's restaurant, a famous institution in New York City for many years, only recently closed.

⁴ Probably Henry J. Raymond, at one time editor of the *New York Times*.

Our Friend P thinks the Devil must be fought [with] fire. . . . I am afraid a great deal of sputter and talk will be made about it in the Northern Papers. P. assures me that out of New York City the Fugitive Slave Law is a nullity and I think he would have a better opportunity of ascertaining the true state of affairs than you or I.

Nothing of any importance has transpired here since you left. Seward's¹ open declaration of adopting Democratic principles in full unfortunately leaves me no choice but to vote for him. Otherwise I would bolt from a regular Party nomination which however expedient at times will in the long run break up any party.² . . . Col. DeLyon³ says if Chatham County does not give a majority against Seward he will be elected. How it will be I really do not feel able to say. While Bartow⁴ will undoubtedly get a very large vote, still the Wire pullers and electioneers of the mass of our Party are for Seward on strict Party grounds. . . . The great contest will doubtless be in the South Western portion of the district. . . . Although Seward is on his own Dung-hill there Bartow has gone out to meet him & you know Frank can crow with the best. . . .

M *To Dr. A. P. Merrill, Memphis, Tenn.*

My dear Doctor,

May 23, 1854.

I am really glad to find that the subject of the Physiological peculiarities & diseases of negroes has fallen into hands more likely to do it justice than myself.⁵ I lack time and opportunity for original observation as to their physiological peculiarities. The subject so far as this branch is concerned has been ably discussed in some of its points in Nott and Gliddon's admirable

¹ James L. Seward, of Thomasville, one-time fire-eating leader in the Georgia State Convention of 1850; hence Arnold's dislike for him.

² This was the period when Arnold and the other Union-Democrats were being reunited to the rest of the State party.

³ Levi S. De Lyon, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1838-'45; Judge of City Court, 1861-63.

⁴ Francis S. Bartow, the "Union" (i. e., by this time, what was left of the Whig) party candidate, opposing Seward. The latter was elected, as congressman for the first Georgia district.

⁵ Dr. Arnold had been made a member of the American Medical Association's Committee on Voluntary Communications, in 1851, with reference to "The Physiological Peculiarities and Diseases of the Negro."

new work, the Types of Mankind.¹ Had I time to devote to it, first to accomplish myself in the use of the microscope,² and then to employ, I should like to institute a series of observations on the blood & the pileous system, if that term can be applied to the wool of the negro, & some other subjects. . . . I can, so far as an observation of twenty four years in the malarial country goes, corroborate the fact of the less liability of the negro to all classes of our malarial fevers (by which I mean, Intermittent, Remittent, Congestive, etc.) But I can not say that the negro is exempt entirely, for I have treated them for various forms of malarial fever. Still even where they do have it they have it in a very light form & I do not recollect ever to have lost a full-blooded African by a climate fever. . . . Moreover these cases have occurred in my experience, solely among City negroes, while the negroes on the Rice plantation goes unscathed in an atmosphere which would bring certain death to an unacclimated white adult, & almost certain death to an acclimated white unless he should use much precaution in fortifying himself against malaria, by avoiding early morning, evening, and night air.

This undoubted fact, as regards our Rice and Swamp lands in this section of the country, is one pregnant with instruction to the Southern Statesman. White Agricultural labor is a utopian idea here. Now I do not pretend to speak for the whole South, for I have been told that malarial fevers are disappearing fast in other sections of the country. It is not the case here. . . . It is fairly to be considered a regular Endemic in this locality.

My preceptor, the late Dr. Wm. R. Waring, has often mentioned to me that in our terrible epidemic of Yellow Fever in 1820, he never saw a single case of that disease in a negro. Now negative testimony weighs as nothing against positive testimony & I observe that in the S. West it does attack negroes. The question has arisen in my mind, have persons recollected

¹ Josiah C. Nott, and G. R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind*, etc., Philadelphia, 1854; a coöperative work, which had able contributors. A number of scientific and quasi-scientific anthropological studies, having especial reference to the Negro, appeared in this period; reflecting the interest created by the slavery controversy.

² Familiarity with the microscope did not become a part of the general practitioner's equipment until after the Civil War. A good instrument, however, was purchased in the fifties for the Savannah Medical College, in which Arnold was professor of theory and practice.

that a mulatto is not a negro any more than he is a white man? For of another thing I am fully assured, viz. that the mixture of the two races increases the liability of the mulatto to malarial disease & that this liability increases in a direct ratio with the increase of the white man's blood and vice versa. With us no man would buy a mulatto for field work. I think negroes more liable to scrofula in our climate than the whites. Now even statistical tables would not solve the problem of relative liability satisfactorily, unless a separate table should be kept for each race. That I have not done nor with the amount of business I have could I well do it.¹ . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold

My dearest Daughter,

June 23, 1854.

. . . Tell Mrs. Jones the pleasure of seeing her would be the only inducement to take me to Newport. I am very glad we are *not* freezing here. Cold weather in summer is like all other unseasonable things, not at all pleasant. I am thankful for two things, first, that I like warm weather better than I do cold, second, that I think Savannah the pleasantest place for a residence in all the United States. The only good thing for which we are indebted to the North is Ice,² a fit emblem of their hearts and manners, which serves to temper our drinks to a proper temperature. The Southerners might take another quality of the Northerners and mix it with one of ours and the product would be beneficial, mix Northern avarice with Southern prodigality and the product would be judicious Economy.

To Miss Ellen Arnold

My dearest Daughter,

July 7, 1854.

. . . Isaac is still about me. The fact with Isaac is I hate to take him away from Flora, for she is getting old and she is so handy, so skilful, and so willing to do anything I ask her to do. In short, I do not believe anybody North or South has better servants than we have. God knows I should be very unwilling to exchange them for mere hirelings. . . .

¹ See above, p. 32, n. 1.

² Ice was brought from the North to Savannah by sea.

M To E. F. Finney, Ogeechee P. O., C. R. R.¹

Dear Sir, July 9, 1854.

. . . The substance of your first inquiry is whether the Savannah Medical College² can, upon a satisfactory examination grant a license to a young man to practice. . . . Neither the Savannah Medical College nor any other can do this. The Savannah Medical College is empowered to confer the Degree of Doctor of Medicine & *eo facto* the State allows the recipient of it to practice.

But the Board of Physicians of the State of Georgia can license anybody who can & will stand an examination. . . . You could attend a course with us & then present yourself to the Board. But, my dear Sir, it is a great mistake in young men to hurry through the study of the Medical Profession. No profession requires a more thorough training, for the moment a man begins the practice he is thrown entirely on his own resources. He cannot, like a young lawyer, put off his client to another day & then consult his authorities. The young Physician on the contrary, must act & that promptly. If he dallies, the observers put him down as a Dastard, if he doubts, he is damned. . . .

You emphasize that you are a good English Scholar. This is not enough. The Student of Medicine ought to have a sufficient knowledge of Greek and Latin to understand the Etymology of the terms which constantly meet him. Any young man of studious habits could do this with perfect ease while pursuing the study of his profession.

Our regular course commences in November. I think our advantages are equal to those of any Southern Medical College.³ . . .

M To Miss Ellen Arnold

Dearest Daughter, Sept. 2, 1854.

I am sorry to see from your letter & from your telegraph that you have allowed yourself to become too much excited on the subject of the Epidemic prevailing here. Recollect that I

¹ Central Railroad of Georgia.

² The Savannah Medical College had been established the preceding year, by Dr. Arnold and several other Savannah physicians.

³ The nearest rival colleges were those in Augusta, Ga., and Charleston, S. C., both good schools.

have resided for twenty four consecutive summers in this city, that I have over & over again been exposed to yellow fever, that my mind is calm, for I have a duty to perform in staying here. I repeat it, I am perfectly calm, not at all anxious. Such a panic as exists here is hard to describe. The city is almost deserted. Quackery is rife. Dr. Wildman flourishes with Tincture of Iron.¹ Dr. M. Schley² had the fever they say & has *vamosed* to Augusta, to the great sorrow of his friends who say the mortality would have been stopped had he not left the city. Dr. Freeman Schley³ went up the road this morning in hot haste. I call it the *Stampede* Fever.

I regret to give you a melancholy piece of news. John—— has been on one of his frolics & went into the country. Aunt went after him, stayed a night away, was very much exposed, came back with a burning fever, & died this morning at II o'clock. John is drunk as a beast. Mary has been very ill, but is I hope better. Oh, how inscrutable are the ways of Providence. George went off this morning.

Keep calm. I'll try to write tomorrow or the next day.

M

To Miss Ellen Arnold

Dearest Daughter,

Sept. 17, 1854.

I have just heard that you are at Sing Sing. . . . I have been through fearful scenes. Weeks only have elapsed since the terrible scourge visited our city but when I look back it seems that I have gone through months. Indeed I have lost all count of time & know it only by reference to my diary. I sincerely thank God who has so far preserved me & allowed [me] with undiminished strength to work literally morning, noon, & night.

I could fill pages with details but I have not time. Death has had a full harvest. Deeply did he scar my heart when his inexorable scythe cut down my two noble young men Ellis &

¹ P. H. Wildman, a Massachusetts man who had only settled in Savannah two years before this. He announced in the papers, Sept. 3, that he had recently treated one hundred and fifty cases of yellow fever; and that no case, in which he had been able to administer tincture of iron promptly, failed to recover!

² J. M. Schley, city health officer, 1845. The press stated that he left the city only after being attacked by yellow fever.

³ A homeopath, just returned from study in Paris, a younger brother of Dr. J. M. Schley. The press stated that he left the city to take his stricken brother to Augusta. He returned to Savannah, only to die of yellow fever, Sept. 12.

Hartridge.¹ Like soldiers they fell in the field of duty. Zeal in their profession & humanity to the poor sick caused them to undergo such fatigue as made them full easy victims to the Yellow monster. Both cases were awfully severe & rapid. Dr. Wildman's specific did not save him.² I considered it a humbug while he was living & his death ———— affords no reason why I should change my opinion.

I am quite well. A young Physician from Augusta, Dr. Bacon,³ is living with me. He came down to see the Elephant. May God preserve him,

in haste.

M *To Sol Cohen, Esq. Care of Dr. Hays,⁴ Phila.*

Dear Cohen,

Sept. 29, 1854.

I regret to be obliged to inform you of a loss which has just occurred to you in the death of your Servant, Diana, which occurred this morning at 8 o'clock after a protracted illness of two weeks. Her disease assumed a distinct & decided typhoid type. . . . I had a great deal of trouble in trying to provide nursing attendance on her. When she was first taken . . . the pestilence was at its height amongst us & neither love nor money could provide nursing. Things were in an awful condition. Her husband did all he could. After she had been sick about 10 days, some of her Sisters in the Church began to drop in to gossip & to have the impertinence to advise her husband not to give my medicine, as I was killing her "witt dat iron ting," mistaking Tincture of Bark [?] for Wildman's specific, Muriatic Tincture of Iron, the reaction against which has been just in proportion to the rush of the Public for it when he first proclaimed his *Wonderful* success with it.

¹ These two young men were studying medicine under Dr. Arnold. Charles Hartridge, aged 21, died Sept. 12; and J. M. Ellis, aged 24, some days before this.

² Dr. Wildman died, Sept. 10; despite a claim made some time before, that he had personally warded off approaching attacks of yellow fever by the use of his own remedy. He did not claim, however, that the latter was a real "specific;" but rather that it was a very helpful "preparation which acts by medicating the blood," etc. He had worked incessantly, and was doubtless exhausted by his efforts.

³ Dr. Henry S. Bacon. He was attacked by yellow fever, but recovered.

⁴ Dr. Isaac Hays.

At that time the multitude stood expectant at the drug stores, each man patiently awaiting his or her [sic] turn to have his vial filled with the great "Preventive & cure." The wise-
 acres abused me at the corners of the Streets (I'll assure [you]
 this was literally the fact) for being old fashioned & prejudiced
 and for killing all my patients with the Lancet and Calomel. . . .

There has been a great deal of sickness amongst the negroes
 within the last three or four weeks, fortunately not nearly so
 fatal as amongst the whites.¹ Had it been so, God knows what
 would have become of Savannah. The epidemic has convinced
 me how utterly impossible it is for the white Race to do the
 outdoor work in this hot climate. . . .

M

To Octavus Cohen

Dear Octavus,

Oct. 5, 1854.

. . . How like a hideous dream do the last two months appear
 to me. . . . I have compared it to a long continued battle, but
 without its excitement, without the "pomp & circumstance of
 war." . . . I say it in no spirit of exaggeration, that I believe
 it takes more true courage to make a trustworthy Physician
 than to make a soldier. The spirit stirring drum . . . the emulation
 of masses, urge the Soldier on to face death. The Physician
 has no external aid. He goes into the very dens of infection, he
 inhales the reeking effluvia of filth & disease, *he is most exposed
 to catch disease himself in those very cases which will bring him
 neither money nor credit.* That our Faculty in Savannah have
 nobly faced this danger let their stricken & thinner ranks attest.
 . . . Counting Hartridge & Ellis, who were in full practice al-
 though not graduates, eight Physicians have died. This is a
 fearful mortality.² . . .

The Epidemic is I think entirely over. . . . Contrary to my
 fears, the disease did not grow more malignant as it became
 less frequent. On the contrary the type was milder. . .

¹ The white mortality rate was about three times as great as that for the
 Negro, during this entire year in Savannah; although in normal years it was
 only slightly higher. See above, p. 32, n. 1.

² This number was subsequently brought to ten by the death of Dr. J. B.
 Saussy, Oct. 10, and of Dr. P. W. Cullen, Oct. 11. There was a relatively large
 number of physicians in Savannah, no less than ten having come to the city in
 the one year, 1852; though the total population was not more, in 1854, than
 about eighteen or nineteen thousand.

To Thos. C. Nisbet,¹ Esq, Macon, Ga.

Dear Sir,

Oct. 7, 1854.

. . . I had not supposed that a Free-woman of colour, with my written pledge that I was her guardian and supported by a gentleman of your family and standing would be subjected to such persecution in our own State. . . . It does seem astonishing to me that such an extreme measure should have been sanctioned by any official authority of your county as to send a warrant after her up to Indian Springs, and I have as yet no satisfactory clue as to the proceedings. The whole proceedings (and I authorize you to give any individual primarily concerned in it, my full opinion on the subject) are mean and contemptible.

The girl has been paying her taxes to the city. . . . She has been guilty of *Lachesse* in not registering at the Court House for the last few years. I knew nothing of it, as it is quite enough for me to act as general Guardian without attending to such details. Out of the great number for whom I act as Guardian, I have never done it for one but leave it to themselves. Enclosed I give my affidavit as to her freedom. The girl ought to have registered herself but certainly a mere *Lachesse* ought not to subject her to the penalties of persecution.

I also send the certificate of the Clerk that I duly registered her this year. . . . I wish you, if it be requisite, to employ counsel in the case. Although the fee will come out of my own pocket, I will cheerfully pay it in a case like this, which I repeat must be from some source or other, a contemptible persecution of a helpless coloured woman.

M

To Miss Ellen Arnold

Dearest Daughter,

Oct. 18, 1854.

. . . Thank God, I am quite well. I have not shut myself up at night as some of our Doctors have done nor have I gone into the Country to sleep.² . . . For fully six weeks my average sleep was about four & a half hours in the 24, & I was in my buggy except for my meals from six o'clock in the morning to 12

¹ Thomas Cooper Nisbet, (cousin of Judge Eugenius A. Nisbet), a prominent iron manufacturer of Macon. [The editor is indebted, for his identification, to Mr. J. Wingfield Nisbet, and Mr. Warren Grice, of Macon.]

² The *Charleston Courier*, in making the most of the Savannah epidemic, had reported Dr. Arnold as stricken by yellow fever.

midnight & often until toward one in the morning. May I ever give thanks to Almighty God who sustained me in this arduous task.

The Mobile Physicians who are here to aid us brought letters of introduction to me.¹ . . . I intend giving them & a New Orleans gentleman Doctor named Cross a dinner on Tuesday. . . .

To Miss M. W. Houston, Savannah.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mary,

May 9, 1855.

I have run down hither to see my old friend Forney and to look a little more closely at the Magnates of the land. I called on the President on Monday and was honored by an invitation to dine with him,² but I declined as I was engaged to Forney.³ He gave at his own house the most elegant and *recherché* dinner I ever sat down to, and I was dining out every day in Philadelphia while there.⁴ . . . The fashion differs entirely from ours. You see nothing on the table but the glasses, flowers, etc. A waiter serves you the soup, then fish follows, then Boiled beef, or lamb, or fowl. These are placed in succession before the two heads of the table and are then removed or carved at the side table by the servants. The flat dishes or *entremets* are then placed on the table and left there, until the first dishes are eaten. They are then taken up or handed to you to help yourself. They were almost always croquettes, sweet breads, mutton chops, oyster pies. Then followed salad, plain or lobster, and in some houses ham, not in all. . . .

They drink mostly the French or German wines and sherry. The Madeira was generally not worth drinking. Then followed desserts, as with us. . . .

¹ Appeals had been made to physicians in other Southern cities, who were familiar with yellow fever, to come to the aid of the exhausted profession in Savannah. The Mobile physicians referred to above were Messrs. Redwood and Hamilton. Two nurses also came from Mobile, Mrs. Rolls, and Miss Kylery.

² Franklin Pierce.

³ Forney was Clerk of the national House of Representatives, (1851-'55).

⁴ Arnold had gone North to attend a meeting of the American Medical Association. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia, the daily *North American* of that city (May 1, 1855) hailed him as one of the "heroes" of his profession.

To Hon. Jas. Buchanan, Minister Plenipotentiary, London

My dear Mr. Buchanan,

June 12, 1855.

Permit me to introduce to you Dr. James P. Screven of this city. Dr. Screven is one of our most distinguished and public spirited Citizens, thoroughly identified with all our movements for public improvement. He is President of the Savannah and Gulf Rail Road destined, we hope at no distant day, to connect us with the water of the Gulf of Mexico, while it will traverse South Western Georgia, the richest cotton-growing region in our Union. He is also chairman of the Commissioners of the Savannah Water Works, of which he is the originator.¹ He visits Europe to procure Iron for the road, which he will do in England. Another purpose, and one in which your influence could materially assist him, is to study various systems pursued in clarifying water.² Our plan works admirably, so far as regards the raising and distribution of water, but when a freshet occurs in the upper waters of the Savannah, the river becomes so muddy that it is necessary to devise some means to clarify it and to render it fit for culinary and drinking purposes. Before adopting any plan, he has determined at his own expense personally to examine those adopted in Europe. You will find Dr. S. a gentleman in the true sense of the word, and any attention you will have it in your power to bestow will be most gratefully remembered.

M

To Dr. C. R. Gilman,³ New York

Dear Sir,

June 29, 1855.

It gives me great pleasure to reply to your inquiries concerning Dr. J. Le Conte, if you mean Dr. John LeConte,⁴ Professor

¹ Arnold, as mayor in 1852, had arranged the contract with the firm of Worthington and Morse in New York City, for the construction of the Savannah water system. He was a member of the Water Works Commission at the time this letter was written.

² Water filtering systems were not successfully introduced in American cities until after c. 1880.

³ Dr. Chandler Robbins Gilman, naturalist, obstetrician, and medico-legal expert; then professor of obstetrics, in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City.

⁴ The distinguished scientist and educator; one of that family of Huguenot ancestry which produced five names well known in the history of American

of Chemistry in the University of Georgia, at Athens. It is enough to say that I exerted any & every influence it was in my power to do to procure him that position. He settled in Savannah after having been graduated in New York, I think in your school. He was a great acquisition to the literary circle of Savannah & I parted from him with reluctance.

In our Medical Society he was a ready, fluent & forcible speaker, & seldom failed from his extensive reading to impart information on the subject discussed. One of my students sat under him at College & frequently has spoken of him as an excellent lecturer. The LeContes are a family remarkable for their devotion to literary & scientific pursuits.

To Miss Ellen Arnold

My dearest Daughter,

Sept. 10, 1855.

. . . I am glad you are determined to keep cool amongst the religious excitement. I saw much of this in my early days. I have always believed that the cause of true religion is injured by it. I admired, would to God I could imitate the quiet, unobtrusive religion exhibited by your beloved Mother. . . . She disliked revival conversions as much as I did. I was then pleased, when you did join the church, that you did it after calm and quiet reflection and I am glad you chose the communion of your mother.¹ But all do not think as we do, therefore be very careful in expressing yourself. Charity does not always (indeed seldom) accompany zeal, and the worst of enemies is the fanatic who is half educated. . . .

To Miss Ellen Arnold

My dearest Daughter,

Sept. 17, 1855.

. . . You were right to avoid any discussion as to religion with Mrs. Bryan. People in the country live a monotonous life and even religious excitement is often hailed a pleasure more akin to worldly enjoyment than the good people are themselves aware of. . . .

science, within two generations. Dr. John Le Conte was a native Georgian, graduated at the State University in 1838, took his M. D. at the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1841, and practised in Savannah, 1842-'46. From '46 to '55 he served as professor of physics and chemistry at the University of Georgia, and in 1855 resigned to become professor of chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City. The above letter was apparently written with a view to asking Dr. Arnold's opinion as to his qualifications for the latter position.

¹ The Protestant Episcopal Church.

To Professor Louis Agassiz

Dear Sir,

Sept. 18, 1855.

I received your circular letter late in August. Although many are absent from our city, and there is an interregnum of business, I have succeeded in obtaining a few subscribers and herewith forward their names to you. . . .

I wish you, Sir, health and a long life to continue your great labors. Time will never be able to pass your name into oblivion.

To Col. A. R. Lawton,¹ Washington, Wilkes Co., Geo.

Dear Lawton,

Sept. 24, 1855.

At a meeting of the Nominating Committee held this day I nominated James P. Screven for the Senate and Wm. H. Stiles and A. R. Lawton for the House as the nominees of the Democratic Party. I stated that as far as I could ascertain this ticket was the choice of the Party, but of course the committee would receive other nominations. No others were made and the nomination [was] unanimously confirmed.²

Come down instanter. We are in good spirits here. If work is well done on the day of Election victory will be ours.

Give my respects to Mrs. L., and if you see Mr. Toombs remember me to him.

To Hon. Howell Cobb, Wash. D. C.

My dear Cobb,

June 12, 1856.

I am desirous of obtaining an appointment in the Revenue Service for my brother in Law, Fitzherbert M. Stirk, a native of Savannah who has been at sea for fifteen years. In fact, I applied for him in the latter end of Mr. Van Buren's administration. As a Southern man I find it impossible to obtain for him a higher berth than that of mate unless I buy shares in a vessel. Mr. Stirk is sober and was and is competent. . . . His grandfather Samuel Stirk was a Whig during the revolution, a Major and Paymaster in the Georgia forces, the first Attorney General under Georgia as a State, and in his day a most dis-

¹ Alexander R. Lawton, a Savannah attorney; who subsequently held high office as Brigadier General, and Quartermaster-General of the Confederate Army, and was American minister to Austria-Hungary during Cleveland's first administration.

² This was Gen. Lawton's first entrance into politics; viz. in the State election, 1855. He was elected to the House.

tinguished Lawyer. I think such a pedigree entitles a man a least to sympathy. . . .

We were delighted down here with Ward's¹ appointment as President of the Convention² and think he well deserves any such compliment to his talents. I was much disappointed at not being able to go to Cincinnati, but as a modest man console myself with reflecting that they could not have done better if I had been there, either in their President of the Convention or their President of the United States.

I should like to have seen Forney as Buchanan Stock gradually rose higher and finally swept the Political Stock Market.³ May it continue to be above par.

To Miss E. Anderson Williamson

Dear Miss Williamson,

Aug. 16. 1856.

I had an interview with John P. W. Read⁴ on the 4th inst. and on the basis of your letter to him I agreed that he should have the negroes another year, and that for several reasons, 1st, he is to pay quarterly in advance; 2nd, you get a better interest than the amount of their value would bring in any other investment; 3rd, they are certain to be well cared for in his hands; 4th, there is no prospect of the negroes deteriorating in value for some time, if ever, as long as Cotton and Rice are planted; 5th, Year after next he would be able to buy them from you in a gang, giving you their full value and obviating selling them in divided portions; 6th, he has agreed to pay up the back wages, if I would consent to this arrangement. I hope you will be satisfied with my action in this matter. . . .

*To Capt. E. M. McGee,
Agent for the Georgia Colony in Kansas*

Dear Sir,

Sept. 13, 1856.

I have the satisfaction to enclose with this Draft No. 483 Merchants & Planters Bank Savannah on the Merchants Bank New York City for one hundred & twenty-six dollars payable to your order & of even date with this. This is a contribution from the citizens of Darien, Georgia, for the aid of the Georgia

¹ J. E. Ward, of Savannah.

² The Democratic national convention at Cincinnati, 1856, when James Buchanan was nominated for the presidency.

³ Forney, as leader of the Pennsylvania delegation, was instrumental in securing Buchanan's nomination.

⁴ Savannah alderman, 1859-'61.

Colonists in Kansas. Fifty dollars were contributed by J. R. Troup & twenty-five by D. H. B. Troup, a name ever honored by Georgia.¹ . . .

God prosper the right.

To John W. Forney

My dear Forney,

Nov. 26, 1856.

Most heartily do I congratulate you [on] the result of your arduous labours. Although distant from you I was an attentive observer of your efforts & I never missed a line out of the *Pennsylvanian*.² My heart glowed when I read a few days ago the handsome tribute it paid to you. Go on & prosper is my heartfelt wish for you. Hundreds of times have Ward and I talked about you this summer. We have had a tight campaign.³ As with you everything hinged on the preliminary municipal election. We worked hard & some of us bled freely. Politics is a costly dish to some & I often ask myself why I, who from my profession am cut off from seeking office or honor, should risk & lose so much. I can only answer it is in me, and I feel too much interest in the advancement of correct principles to grudge my time or my money. The *Georgian Newspaper*⁴ gave Ward and myself a pretty severe blow.

We should have imitated the caution of our present Governor Johnson⁵ who in 1845, when McAllister was running for Governor,⁶ charged and got from Ward one thousand dollars to edit a *weekly Newspaper* for eight weeks. I have always thought that what is called *sharp practice*.

Johnson is keen and devilish lucky. He is a man of talent but he is personally very unpopular. Cobb saved him in his first election, in 1853, which was carried by a few hundreds. Cobb's influence in Cherokee⁷ was very great. Ward could

¹ An allusion to George M. Troup, of Savannah, famous Governor of Georgia.

² The Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*, Democratic daily.

³ This was the year when the former Whigs, having abandoned the disintegrating Union party, attached themselves to the new American party ("Know-Nothings"). They nominated E. C. Anderson for mayor; he was defeated by the Democratic nominee, Dr. James P. Screven. Avery (*History of Georgia*, p. 43) observes that this was "the hottest municipal struggle" Savannah had experienced in years.

⁴ The Savannah *Georgian*.

⁵ Herschel V. Johnson.

⁶ H. M. McAllister, defeated Democratic nominee for Governor, 1845.

⁷ Upper Georgia.

have had the nomination for Governor last year and would have beaten Andrews¹ more than Johnson.

I suppose Mr. Buchanan will have an immense deal of advice tendered him by friends and foes. Now that the battle is over, of course, we do not expect to reward our enemies. As a Georgian and personally I feel a warm interest in the chance which Georgia stands for participation in the cabinet. Toombs & Stephens would not of course vacate their positions. I told the former when here that I would as soon occupy Stephens' position in the House as that of any man in the United States, for that he was unquestionably *the* leader there as ever Clay was.

Cobb is certainly the prominent man, if Mr. Buchanan turns this way. Should he not be a candidate, party feeling and personal friendship make me hope that our friend Ward's high legal position & effective political service will commend him to Mr. B[uchanan]. Ward is confessedly the leading Lawyer at the Bar of Georgia and would make as good an Attorney General as any man in the Union. I am informed that Governor Johnson is an aspirant. I do not doubt it. He generally puts in. He was quite disappointed at not being nominated over Breckinridge.² In 1852 when he supported Douglas at Baltimore he expected a seat in his cabinet. I think he has had his full share of honors. I write you confidentially and frankly because I thought you would like to learn something authentic from this quarter.

You will see that Johnson is no favorite of mine. I have never gotten over that thousand dollar trick.

I hope I may be spared to see Mr. Buchanan as a man face to face. His counterfeit presence is now looking down at me from its post of honor in my library. He is certainly the man for the times and I must say I consider him as providentially raised and preserved to maintain our glorious union.

When are you coming to Savannah? The Southern Commercial Convention, which by the way is a humbug, will meet here on the 8th December. My daughter is to be married on the 11th.³ Could not you and Mrs. Forney make it convenient to attend? . . .

¹ Garnett Andrews, the "Know-Nothing" candidate. Johnson led him by nearly eleven thousand votes, a large plurality for Georgia.

² J. C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, was Vice President under Buchanan.

³ Ellen Arnold married William C. Cosens, of Savannah, a gentleman of English origin.

To Howell Cobb, Washington, D. C.

My dear Cobb,

Feb. 21, 1857.

The Democrats of Savannah, desirous of exhibiting their appreciation of the admirable manner in which Franklin Pierce has discharged his constitutional duties during his eventful administration, have had prepared for presentation to him as a testimonial a Dinner Service of Silver to consist of a Soup tureen, two Venison dishes, two Oyster dishes and an Ice Cream bowl, with the following inscription on the shield on each side:

THE
DEMOCRATS OF SAVANNAH
TO
FRANKLIN PIERCE
PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES
from 1853 to 1857

(other side)

IN
GRATEFUL MEMORY
of his
FAITHFUL ADHERENCE
to the
CONSTITUTION
of his COUNTRY

We wish it to be presented by the Democratic Delegation from Georgia. . . . I have by this day's mail apprised Mr. Pierce of our intention and that it will be offered to him through our Georgia Delegation at such time and in such manner as you (he) may be pleased to point out. We thought here that after the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan on the 4th March might be a proper time.

The Service was manufactured by Bailey and Co. of Philadelphia. . . .

Our hearts are deep in this matter and we hope every thing will go off smoothly. We had hoped to have Mr. Pierce with us but we have learned that he will not visit the South.

M *To Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride,¹*
Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, Philadelphia

My dear Doctor, March 10, 1857.

I have a near friend . . . who is favored by Providence in mind & fortune, but who mars all his gifts by the terrible vice of intoxication. He is what I call a periodical drinker, & which, years ago, I classed as a kind of periodical insanity. No one knows these cases better than you. Latterly the periods of soberness have become shorter & shorter. I have long entertained the idea that in cases of confirmed bad habits the Law ought to allow the relatives to place the Subject in an Insane Asylum, to try if a forced abstinence of not less than a year, might not eradicate the vice. I write to beg your opinion because the gentleman in question is willing to try the experiment, & his only sister feels & knows it is the last hope of reform. Kind, amiable, liberal, intelligent, when sober, he is a devil when drunk.

. . . I confess I have but little hope. However, I write to ask you if you have tried to cure such cases &, if so, with what success & to ask your advice as an Expert in Insanity.

The means are ample to afford any expense which may offer a fair chance of reform.

To R. M. Goodwin, N. Brunswick, N. J.

Dear Sir, March 19, 1857.

. . . I have suffered dearly for my political principles, in my purse. Last year alone my contributions to the Party and the losses incurred in keeping up the Georgian amounted to nearly two thousand dollars. Thank God, I *want* no office. The Campaigns of 1855 and 1856 were very important to the Georgia Democracy. In 1855, as usual, I bled freely. I confess I have felt a little vexed when I have seen a recipient of a large share

¹ A distinguished Philadelphia Alienist. The hospital, noted in the address above, had been erected by the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1840, in West Philadelphia, and Dr. Kirkbride served as its superintendent from that time until his death in 1883.

of the Public Treasury get off in the two campaigns for sixty dollars. I intend to haul off.

To Fitzherbert Stirk, 338 Greenwich St. N. York

Dear Fitzherbert,

April 3, 1857.

. . . I have written a letter to Mr. Cobb in your behalf. I feel certain that I can get the appointment, but large coaches move slowly and I as yet have no answer.

. . . The last campaign cost me more than would have bought you a sailing share. If I am disappointed again I shall wash my hands of politics. I have been a stalking horse all my life, spending time and money while others have reaped the benefit. . . .

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens

My beloved daughter,

May 14, 1857.

. . . Yesterday I entertained the Hon. Howell Cobb at a sociable dinner Party composed of Jno and Geo Owens,¹ Tom Lloyd,² Jno E. Ward and Judge Jackson. We sat down at 3 o'clock and got up at 1/2 past nine. You can draw your own conclusion. I know I enjoyed myself very much. Tonight in compliance with the invitation of several citizens, Mr. Cobb will speak at the Atheneum. I am to introduce him. . . .

To D. M. Reese, M. D.,³ 10 Union Square, New York

Dear Sir,

July 18, 1857.

Enclosed you will find an advertisement of our College which we wish inserted in your August Number. . . . I shall send you one of our circulars. . . . We have taken the first bold, unequivocal stand against a growing abuse, viz. taking a winter student, hurrying him through a Summer Course, & turning him out a Doctor in less than a year from the time he heard his first lecture. This has been done by Oglethorpe College here. . . . The Atlanta College avows & defends this course. Sir, you are one of our Pilots. . . . You won golden opinions at Nashville

¹ Probably George W. Owens, mayor of Savannah, 1832-'33.

² Thomas E. Lloyd, Savannah alderman, 1820.

³ David Meredith Reese, of Baltimore and New York City, resident physician to Bellevue Hospital in the latter city, 1834-1849; at this time editor of the *American Medical Gazette*. He was active as a member of the Committee on Education of the A. M. A.

by your defence of our Profession as it was formerly educated. Has not that day passed away? When schools can act this way & Professors in open Association talk as some talked are we not falling upon evil days? As God is my judge I speak for the Profession at large & not for our College. . . . We claim the credit of having first spoken out in meeting. Will the profession remain apathetic & think this a dispute between schools? I hope not.

M *To Jacob Waldburg, Clarksville, Ga.*

My dear Waldburg, Aug. 1, 1857.

In accordance with previous arrangement I left the City with Dr. Wayne & reached St. Catherines¹ at 4 P. M. We found twelve patients from Macqueens & South End placed in the Moting [Meeting?] House as a temporary Hospital. . . . Our first remedy was moral, to endeavor to infuse confidence & to remove the alarm which evidently existed on all hands.

In the evening Mr. Gregor² came over & from him & Phebe³ we endeavored to trace the history of the rise & the symptoms of the disease. I must say, & I am loath to believe in importation & contagion, that I have never know more direct, positive, & unequivocal testimony as to the origin of any disease. Here is a sequestered Island, having little communication with the world, with a population rarely in contact with any other. A new comer arrives, falls sick, has a disease so marked that the difference between it & the diseases ordinarily met with on the Island strikes every observer. Now when the symptoms are detailed to a professional man he cannot fail to recognize genuine Typhoid Fever. The nurse attending him is attacked with a similar disease, then two children about her, & so it creeps form one to the other. . . .

Of course our directions were obliged to be general. Had we given a regular detail, it would have been applied to every case indiscriminately. . . . Our principle directions were in relation to Hygienic measures & avoidance of strong exhausting treatment.

¹ An island in Liberty County, below Savannah.

² An overseer?

³ A slave nurse?

We wrote a pretty full letter of instructions for Mr. Gregor & enforced our views more directly on Phebe. . . . I think there was a better state of feeling among the negroes when we left & Mr. Gregor was evidently much relieved by our visit. It was natural that he should have felt that a heavy responsibility was taken from him. My reliance, however, is on Phebe.

I think the worst has passed. You will have heard from other sources of your crops. . . . One afternoon we rode to the beach. How delicious, how balmy, how refreshing the sea breeze! How could you ever have preferred your mountain air to it?

To John E. Ward, Marietta, Geo.

Dear Ward,

Sept. 6, 1857.

When a few days since I heard there was a prospect of your running for the State Senate I was gratified in every sense as a Party Man and as a Rail Road Man. . . . Never did the city require more the Services of an able Senator. Unless the Main Trunk Road is pushed,¹ Savh. will suffer for years to come. . . . I confess that [when] I heard of there being a prospect of your starting my first thought was in reference to the Main Trunk, and I envied you your chance of still more distinguishing yourself and of conferring so great a benefit on our *city* as carrying that road to a successful termination would be. . . .

Then as to yourself individually I look forward as your devoted friend to a time when you will be called upon to fill a higher sphere as the representative of Georgia in the Senatorial Halls of Congress. If you withdraw from the public gaze you jeopard your standing.

To John W. Forney, Editor of the Press, Philadelphia

Dear Forney,

Sept. 7, 1857.

Your prospectus came duly to hand and I was glad to see you once more pen in hand the efficient champion of the National Democracy. I had watched your luminous course in the Pennsylvania campaign, had seen with indignation your

¹ Presumably the "Savannah, Albany, and Gulf" road, eighty-eight miles of which had been built at this time. The city had also subscribed recently to a new venture, the "Atlantic and Gulf" road. This was a period of great interest, in Savannah, in railroad building; connection northwards to Macon ("Georgia Central") and to Augusta ("Augusta and Savannah") already being accomplished, and that to Charleston ("Charleston and Savannah") was soon undertaken.

treacherous defeat for the Senate & then suddenly I could not track you anywhere.¹ In writing to Mr. Cobb I had asked news of your whereabouts when the very next day I read a fierce and vindictive onslaught on you in the columns of the *Pennsylvanian*. I was tempted to stop the paper. . . .

Well, you have again embarked on a Newspaper Sea. Is there room in Philadelphia to make it profitable?² Your national reputation as a writer will secure you a large list of Subscribers but I think the rates are too low for remuneration, and advertising is in a city a matter of favor [?]. Still, Philadelphia is redeemed and I hope you will reap something more substantial from your enterprise than mere reputation. You have worked for honor long enough, and now in the vigor of your life is the time to lay up an Independence. Could our glorious friend the President ever have become the great Statesman he is had he not have secured quiet and ease to himself in his pecuniary resources? In Plato's Republic the Legislators were to [be] men entirely above the necessity of making any provision for their own support. . . .

Politics are quiet here. The Walker question will not distract the Democratic Party. The President's letter to the Rev. Connecticut Freedom Shriekers has distinctly and satisfactorily defined his views.

Sept. 12th. This letter shows what a desultory kind of correspondent I am. I often wonder how the big doctors in large cities find time to write. . . . Am I ever to have you with your feet under my mahogany? I could show you a fine batch of rising young Democrats, ardent and intelligent young professional men mostly all of the F. F. Vs., hence sneered at as Aristocrats. I have always replied to such taunts that a true Democrat is a true gentleman, first from a proper respect for himself, second from a proper respect for others. Enclosed I send

¹ When Buchanan was elected president, 1856, Forney was promised a cabinet post; but the opposition of Southern Democrats, who suspected Forney on the slavery issue, prevented Buchanan from making the appointment. The latter then backed Forney for a Pennsylvania senatorship. The Democrats had a slight majority at Harrisburg, but several broke ranks and defeated Forney. He then founded at Philadelphia the *Press*, 1857, and began to support Douglas and to oppose Buchanan.

² The *Press* proved a success. Forney controlled it until he sold out in 1877. The paper, which under Forney's direction during the Civil War, had switched from the Democracy to the Republican party, continued as a Republican paper until it was bought out, c. 1921, by the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*.

you a draft for twenty one dollars . . . for which please send the tri-weekly Press to the following addresses. . . .

Ward is up the country with his family. We wanted him to run for our State Senate, but he will not.

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens

My dearest Daughter,

Sept. 15, 1857.

. . . Mrs. ————— is old compared with you and had come some distance to see you. In refusing her invitation you might have said that you did not like to leave Miss Levy alone. Mrs. ————— is a very bigoted woman in religious matters, although a Lady in every sense of that term. She has told me to my face that I was sure to be damned,¹ and she has among other religious aversions a peculiar one for Israelites. I do not suppose that Miss Levy would have accepted the invitation had it been given, as the families do not visit here. . . .

To Lt. F. M. Stirk, U. S. Revenue Cutter Washington, N. York

Dear Fitzherbert,

Dec. 30, 1857.

. . . I am really rejoiced that you had made a safe port before he commercial storm arose. No abolition wretch, trading off of our Cotton and Rice and making his bread by them, while he would put the knife to the throat of his Southern fellow citizens for owning the very slaves whose labour enriches him, can have you in his power as to whether you can obtain a situation. . . .

I did not go to Milledgeville about our Bank. The Committee of citizens *wrote*. I did go up ten days about the bill to give our Medical College fifteen thousand dollars, and I am happy to see we were successful. This will help to reimburse the seven of us who have paid the expenses, some part of the forty thousand dollars we have spent on the Institution.

To John W. Forney

March 30, 1858.

My dear Forney,

1 o'clock A. M.

Your letter of the 24 Feby. ult. was received by me with great pleasure because to you personally I can never feel any other than the kindest and warmest feelings. Strange that our

¹ Arnold evidently owed this compliment to the fact that he was a Unitarian.

acquaintance, which through you partially has been instrumental in introducing me to so many pleasant associations, should have begun through Reub Frazer [?] and in that delightful afternoon in Mr. Buchanan's private residence in Lancaster. No man has had a more ardent and enthusiastic friend personally and politically than you have had in me. Alas, that the two should be separated. Personally you have my warmest wishes.¹ . . . Politically, although a constant and careful reader of your paper I regret that I separated from you, the Achilles of the Democratic Party, but you have a vulnerable heel and there, in my opinion, you have been wounded. Unlike your prototype you have hurled back the weapon, and a severe, if not a fatal blow, has been struck at the great National Democratic Party. In my opinion, that Party is defunct. If a conservative *Statesman* like James Buchanan cannot preserve it; [it] is useless to look to the future. I rejoiced that I opposed Douglas with all my heart and soul in the Presidential Convention of 1852. Never shall I forget the scene that occurred on the Friday night of the week of the Convention, when a committee from each of the States which had voted for the illustrious Buchanan, met in a back room of Carrol Hall in Baltimore, the headquarters of the friends of Pennsylvania's favorite son. I represented, with full power, the Union Democratic Delegation of Georgia. Mr. Wise arose, with his gaunt tall figure, and stretching forth his hand and forefinger, a la John Randolph, uttered these words which are indelibly impressed on my memory:

"Thank God, the Brandy bottle is smashed, the Champagne Bazaars are closed, and Douglas has crept out of town like a whipped dog with his tail between his legs."

You are too cognizant of the means taken by Douglas to ensure his nomination, not to recognize the truth of the picture drawn by Wise.

¹ This letter well illustrates the tension now growing (1858) between northern and southern politicians in the Democratic party. Arnold and Forney had been unusually congenial friends; but Forney's continued support of Douglas, and his desertion of Buchanan (when the latter supported the pro-slavery Lecompton movement in Kansas), was too much for Arnold. Forney finally became a strong Republican, and supported Lincoln throughout the War.

I cannot pretend to argue the question of Kansas in the limits of a letter, but I say in all sincerity, you and your associates are pushing us of the South to the wall. I never believed that Kansas would become a slave State, because I believed it to be incompatible with her soil and climate. I am and was, in common with every true Democrat, willing to leave that to the decision of the *people*. No sophistry, no misrepresentation can alter that as being the deliberate opinion of the slave holding states. It was the machinations of Jim Lane and his Topeka followers which prevented such an expression of opinion and if by default a contrary vote was given, every good citizen ought to abide by it until it could be legally reversed. You know *he* caused thousands to *abstain* from voting. Is that any reason to revolutionize a legal vote? If so, good by Law and Order. I have just read a synopsis of what you eulogize as the great speech of the session, Judge Douglas, on the 22^{inst}. It has not so impressed me. He is mistaken as regards us of the South, as far as I can ascertain. . . .

I see by your letter that you have not yet been able to understand the true position of the Union Party of Georgia in 1850. You were a Compromise man and *we were Compromise men*. The question was submitted to the highest power known in a Representative Government, a convention called directly to decide what Georgia should do. This was a question *entirely inside* of Georgia. By an overwhelming majority the convention representing the people sustained the compromise. An appeal was taken from that decision by the opposite Party, and again in the election of Gov. Cobb was that decision reiterated. That question had nothing to do with National Politics. If it had and Cobb and I were astray from the Democratic Party, then were you and the large majority of the American People.

3 1/2 A. M.

To give an idea of my desultory life I was called off, when I had written up to the commencement of this sentence. It is too late to write any further. If, when we meet, you can take me as cordially by the hand as I hope to do you, I will be able to subscribe myself hereafter as I do now, your affectionate friend,

To Miss Mary W. Houston, Savh., Georgia

Philadelphia,

May 10, 1858.

Dear Mary,

. . . Every day except one I dined out while in Washington. Messrs. Cobb, Toombs, and Stephens each gave me a dinner. And at Dr. Johnston's,¹ which was a dinner to medical men, he asked me to take the head of the table. Let me begin with Mr. Stephen's dinner, as he has quite a reputation and lives with Crutchett [?], who furnishes most of the dinners given in Washington. First, the whole dessert except ices is spread on the table. There were two candelabras and an affair for bon-bons and flowers in the center. This formed a complete screen and you could see only those by your side. The dessert is generally cakes of various kinds, baskets, vases, pyramids, etc., ornamented most beautifully of ———— sugar, of meringues in fanciful forms (there were two *turbans* [?] at Mrs. Toomb's but as the day was warm they caved in, and she laughed and had them removed) and of Charlotte Ruses and a basket of small cakes. No meat of any kind is put on the table. First, then, we had vermicelli soup and broth, was very good, but there was a beggarly amount of vermicelli and hardly more than four table-spoonfuls were ladled out. A strong frozen Roman Punch was then served and eaten with a spoon out of a green hock glass. Boiled Rock fish with white sauce and mashed potatoes were next served. Next a plate of oysters. . . . This and the succeeding dishes were handed to you and you helped yourself, if you wished. Then came sweetbreads—stop—I am ahead of my story. After fish came Beef bouille with a rich sauce with preserved mushrooms. After sweetbreads came Lamb Chops crumbed, then croquettes with green peas. A Mayonnaise Salad was then served. Then Spring Chicken, roasted (I say baked) and as an accompaniment to this, what do you think?—a lettuce salad.

Wines of various kinds were served, principally Sherry and Champagne. The latter was not frappéed. Spring Chickens wound up the next course. The dessert on the table was then attacked. And Ices served, and *Madeira*—horror of horrors! It was circulated. It is well they have such poor Madeira, for

¹ William P. Johnston, originally from Savannah, then professor of obstetrics and gynecology in the National Medical College, Washington, D. C.

the offence of sacrificing it is partly mitigated by the meanness of the victim. Gov. Cobb says they cannot buy it anywheres. We had some very fine, however, which John Owens gave him.

After the dessert Mr. Stephens rose and said, Gentlemen we will retire to the other room, which we did. Coffee and cigars were served, the smokers, after drinking coffee, lit a cigar and walked off, and so ended that dinner. It was very pleasant. The guests were Senators Benjamin¹ & Iverson,² Representatives Wright,³ Crawford,⁴ Trippe of Georgia,⁵ Rep. Eli S. Shorter of Alabama,⁶ Mr. McGlowing or some such name, of the ————— Department, Mr. Whitaker the old Editor of the *Southern Review*,⁷ and myself.

Mr. Toomb's dinner was precisely the same, except that instead of spring chickens, a wild Turkey was served with the lettuce. . . .

Mr. Cobb's dinner on Friday varied somewhat. In compliment to me one of the courses was Ham, Turkey, and boiled rice. His dinner was prepared by his own servants. He said except on State occasions he meant to do so, as the caterers charged five dollars for every plate set, whether it was filled or not. Wines, etc. are extra and are furnished by the Host. I told [him] I could understand why Mr. Toombs was a little vexed on Wednesday. He invited four up country doctors who neither came nor sent an apology. . . .

I think of this style of dinner what I did three years since, that is, I do not like it. A bill of fare is rendered useless to a habitué by the great sameness of all the dinners, but it would be of great service to a novice. The courses are too numerous and each dish is made a course. . . .

On the whole my visit to Washington was a very pleasant one. The Washington hotels are awfully dirty and they all smell badly. . . . I am pleasantly situated at La Pierre. . . .

¹ Judah P. Benjamin, then senator from Louisiana.

² Alfred Iverson, senator from Georgia.

³ Augustus R. Wright, representative from the fifth Georgia district.

⁴ Martin J. Crawford, representative from the second Georgia district.

⁵ Robert P. Trippe, representative from the third Georgia district.

⁶ Representative from the second Alabama district.

⁷ Daniel K. Whitaker, of Charleston, S. C., editor of the *Southern Quarterly Review*, 1841-1861.

To John Stoddard,¹ Esq. Brattleboro, Vermont

My dear Stoddard,

July ———, 1858.

From the very first meeting of the Commissioners of the Massie School² appointed under the new ordinance it was apparent that there were men among them determined to sacrifice Mr. Mallon.³ . . . Mr. Mallon was a stranger to me. Deeply interested in the cause of Education, I have carefully watched and diligently studied the workings of the school. . . . In my visits I have examined the classes of all the teachers. I bear here cheerful testimony to the efficiency of the Teachers and the proficiency of the Pupils. As to the order and discipline of the school, they cannot be surpassed. . . .

Mr. Jas. E. Godfrey⁴ and Mr. Thos. Holcomb,⁵ neither of whom have ever paid an examining visit to school, both broke ground against Mr. Mallon. They raised the state cry about *native* teachers, which I told Mr. Godfrey was Native Americanism in its meanest phase; then the accusation was made by Mr. Godfrey that Mr. Mallon had engaged Miss Mason,⁶ knowing her to be an Abolitionist, . . . that when she had been uttering abolition sentiments openly he had never reported her to you as an improper person to be a Teacher. . . . Now the accusation about Miss Mason evidently had a great effect on Mr. Montgomery Cumming.⁷ . . . He seemed particularly struck by the charge that she was so notorious. . . .

I sent for Mr. Mallon last night and told him the whole

¹ A Savannah merchant and planter.

² The first public elementary school in Savannah, in the modern sense of the term, completed in 1857; and named after Peter Massie, of Glynn County, who had bequeathed five thousand dollars to build such a school, in 1841.

³ Bernard Mallon. He continued to serve as principal of the Massie School, until called out in State military service during the Civil War; and later became a Commissioner of the School, and a member of the Board of Education.

⁴ Alderman, 1857-1858.

⁵ Alderman for several terms, 1841-1859.

⁶ Mr. William Harden, secretary of the Georgia Historical Society, writes the editor (March 18, 1929): "I was a pupil in the Massie School at the time of the Mason incident. The lady had been recommended for the position of teacher, and came from the North, but just where I do not know. She soon began to show her fondness for the colored people of the South, and her activity in advocating the abolition cause was the subject of much talk. She was expelled, and I believe she threatened to take the matter into the courts; but it probably occurred to her that she had no chance of being reinstated."

⁷ Alderman, 1849-51, 1853-54. The ordinance above noted required that four aldermen and four citizens make up the Commission for the new Massie School. Cumming, Stoddard, and Arnold, were evidently citizen representatives.

affair. . . . Mr. Mallon said that . . . he knew nothing of Miss Mason, except her recommendations which were high, that after she had been here some time her talk at the Public table was so injudicious that he mentioned to *you* last year that she was an improper person to retain as long as she gave utterance to the sentiments as to Slavery which she did. Now if your memory can confirm this latter fact I am almost certain that Mr. Cumming would listen to reason. . . .

Are you sufficiently in favor of Mr. Mallon as a Teacher, and sufficiently intimate with Mr. Cumming, to write the latter a statement of the case and solicit his aid for Mr. Mallon?

To Howell Cobb, Washington City

My dear Cobb,

Nov. 15, 1858.

You must excuse my delay in sending on the wine. The dozen was not made up until the commencement of our Epidemic and then I had not a moment to spare. . . . On Saturday I sent it off by Harden's Express and I flatter myself that Washington cannot produce twelve bottles of as equally good wine. The labels will tell the history of each bottle. Allow me to give a little advice as to treatment. First, take them out and put them on their ends, and do not touch them for a least one month, for so much motion as they will have had betwixt here and Washington makes the wine *sick*, never mind how carefully it may have been decanted, and it requires *rest*. This is no fancy. Next, by the shades of Grimod de la Reymiere and Brillat Savarin, do *not* follow that vile Washington custom of giving Madeira with a desert of Sweets, for I would defy Mr. Gaston himself were he alive, to appreciate a good old Madeira with his mouth just filled with vanilla cream or a French Bon bon. An apple is the only fruit it will bear. Nuts or olives are legitimate.

Keep Ward's bottle marked O for your most special of special drinkings. I find the D wine very much improved. It has been in Savannah nearly twelve years. . . . I have no doubt Habersham's and Cohen's wines can tell their own story. . . .

M

To Dr. Alfred Stillé,¹ Phila.

Dear Sir,

March 4, 1860.

Yours of the 24 ult. came duly to hand. Certainly our National Association has conferred one great advantage on me, viz. the opportunity of forming the personal acquaintance of so many of the bright lights of our Profession in our Union, whom otherwise I would have known only by reputation. I had known you before 1846 as a writer in *The Journal*; since I have had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance, it has enhanced my gratification in reading your contributions to our medical literature.

I have never yet visited Philadelphia without calling on you. Now I have said enough. It would give me the greatest pleasure if I could in any way assist you in attaining the object of honorable ambition at which you now are striving. As a mere provincial, a kind of outside professional Barbarian, I feel flattered that you should have thought I might in any way contribute to that end. . . . Somehow or other I always looked upon you as one of the heirs of the Chair of Practice in the University.² Your turn of mind & your studies tended in that direction. Your apprenticeship in the Pennsylvania College³ will & must have its weight. Now you have all scattered, permit me to repeat what I conscientiously said two years since, viz. that as a whole the Faculty of Pennsylvania College was superior to any other in Philadelphia.

Honest medical teaching I find devilish hard work. The profession is going to destruction in Georgia from the utter want of principle in some of our Colleges, who look upon filling their benches & their pockets as the end & aim of incorporated Medical Colleges. I have one consolation, we own our College & apparatus & do not owe a cent. But I am tired of lecturing to small classes & feel very much like quitting, if I could do so with justice to my colleagues.

I do not know whether I can get off this summer. I am Mayor of the city and do not like to be absent as I receive a Salary, unless on City business or for purposes of health. . . .

¹ Then professor of theory and practice in Pennsylvania College, noted below. He was appointed to the same chair at the University of Pennsylvania, in 1864.

² The University of Pennsylvania.

³ The Medical School of Pennsylvania College (Gettysburg) was located in Philadelphia. It should not be confused with the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, in the same city.

Remember me kindly to my friends in Philadelphia, who always are uppermost in my thoughts when I think of the North. Why do not some of them take an occasional trip South? I can always furnish a bottle of Madeira to the temperate & Iced water to the abstinent, with an addition of Sponge cake and coffee.

To Miss M. W. Houston, Savh.

Dear Mary, Brevoort House, New York, June 3, 1860.

. . . I arrived here at ten 1/2 P. M., having left Trenton at 1/4 to 8. The night was enchanting. The moon was shining brilliantly, the trip across the bay was alone worth a day's journey. . . . Never was my eyesight greeted with a more striking scene than that presented by the streets of N. York. We came up Courtland St. and Broadway. The shops were still open. In addition to the city lights, almost every store and restaurant and all the places of public amusement had private lights, either outside or inside. . . . As the sight looked forward along the straight line of Broadway, the effect [was] almost fairy like. . . .

If ever you wish to enjoy Broadway, ride in it in an open carriage at night. . . .

Philadelphia must yield to New York in attraction to a stranger. If it were not for the individuals whom I wish to see, I think I would seldom turn out of my way to visit it, as its localities are so familiar to me. Some years since Clymer said to me, "Phila. is a *village* compared to New York." . . .

To Miss M. W. Houston

My dear Mary, Newport, R. I., June 12, 1860.

. . . The Volks-garten might be dilated into pages, were I writing for Bonner's Ledgers. I went to hear a *Sacred* concert. I entered an immense room, circular in form with a gallery running round it. On one side was a stage, in front on a level were tables, and around each table was clustered a group of men, women and children drinking Lager Bier and eating cakes. This area corresponded to the parquette of a Theater. As I entered, a man in plain black citizen's dress was singing, what I do not

know. After he had finished little boys with trays threaded their way amongst the tables screaming in their shrill treble: "*Ice Cream.*"

On one side under the gallery, there was what was to me a novel contrivance to fill up the time. This was a shooting gallery with an air gun. I tried my hand at it, as also at a gambling machine. . . .

A fat woman with a scarlet mantle about this time came forward and screamed some Italian music, whether operatic or Sacred I know not. After this Mr. Pember and I left, quite satisfied as to the *quantity* of entertainment received for our twelve and a half cents admission. It was a low disgusting exhibition by no means suited to an American taste.

I left New York at seven on Monday morning and reached New Haven at eleven, less a quarter. I was most hospitably received by Dr. Hooker¹ and his family. I had every comfort, while my medical Brethren who boarded out were stowed five in a room.² Dr. Hooker was one of the five who gave receptions on Tuesday, and Dr. Ewett [?] one of the five who did the same on Wednesday. They were the only ones who gave anything to drink but Lemonade . . . gastronomically I shall dismiss New Haven. . . .

M *To Miss M. W. Houston*

My dear Mary,

July 13, 1860.

. . . I had a delightful time at the North, & not the least pleasant time at Boston. I was elected first Vice President of the Sanitary Convention³ & as the President, Dr. Bigelow of Boston,⁴ was too old to perform the duties they devolved on me all their concomitant dignities.⁵ . . .

¹ Possibly Dr. Worthington Hooker, at this time professor of theory and practice in the Yale Medical School.

² The American Medical Association met in New Haven, in 1860.

³ The Fourth National Quarantine and Sanitary Convention, June 15-18, 1860. These annual conventions (Philadelphia, 1857; Baltimore, 1858; New York City, 1859; Boston, 1860) really operated as the first American Public Health Association. At the last, Dr. Arnold, as Acting President, appointed a committee to form a plan for a permanent organization. This committee was to report to the meeting planned for 1861, in Cincinnati; but the outbreak of the Civil War prevented this or any other meetings from being held.

⁴ Jacob Bigelow, a distinguished Boston physician, long associated with the Massachusetts General Hospital. He had been practicing for fifty years; and lived for more than twenty years after this.

⁵ Dr. Arnold delivered two informal addresses, in response to toasts, at this Boston convention. These are given in an appendix to this volume.

To Col. J. D. Hoover, Washington City, D. C.

Dear Sir,

Aug. 13, 1860.

Yours of the 9th inst. came to hand this morning and I was much gratified with its contents. I collected in all the subscriptions the beginning of last week and . . . remit to you at once. With this you will accordingly receive check no. 2087 payable to your order for eight hundred and fifty dollars, Bk. of the State of Georgia, on Bank of Baltimore for the use of the National Democratic Executive Committee.

R. D. Arnold, in acct. with the National Dem. Ex. Comm.¹

Dr.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| To Subscription from | |
| R. D. Arnold, pd. | \$100.00 |
| To Sub. for Solomen Cohen | 100.00 |
| “ “ “ John Boston ² | 100.00 |
| “ “ “ Robt. D. Walker ³ | 100.00 |
| “ “ “ A. R. Lawton | 100.00 |
| “ “ “ Julian Hartridge ⁴ | 100.00 |
| “ “ “ H. R. Jackson ⁵ | 100.00 |
| “ “ “ Octavus Cohen | 50.00 |
| “ “ “ John Screven ⁶ | 50.00 |
| “ “ “ Thomas Purse | 25.00 |
| “ “ “ J. L. Villalonga ⁷ | 25.00 |

\$850.—

I am a little mortified that the sum is so small. . . . I am sorry to say that there are a great many Irish adopted citizens that are strongly inclined to Douglas. Of course I lose no opportunity of using my personal and official influence to counteract this tendency. We have an excellent elector from this Dis-

¹ Dr. Arnold was mayor of Savannah at this time; his third term in that office running from Oct. 17, 1859 to Oct. 15, 1860.

² John Boston, Savannah alderman, for several terms, 1840-1859; resigned as Customs Collector for the port, 1861.

³ Robert D. Walker, later Port Warden of Savannah, alderman, 1848-54, 1855-57.

⁴ Julian Hartridge, an attorney, a close friend of Arnold's.

⁵ Henry R. Jackson, an attorney.

⁶ John Screven, mayor of Savannah for three consecutive terms, 1869-1873; President Atlantic and Gulf Railroad.

⁷ John L. Villalonga, merchant, alderman for several terms, 1861-1877.

trict, Genl. Peter Cone,¹ an old Union Jackson Democrat, as was your humble servant. Bah, it makes me sick to read Forney's twaddle about Disunion Candidates. How are the mighty fallen! According to him to demand equality of rights on the part of the Southern States is to preach Disunion. How must the Southern People have fallen in his estimation since the time when he blew his clarion Democratic blast to rally the hosts of our party against the heresy of David Wilmot, who attempted to do by congressional enactment what the ambitious traitor [?] attempts to do by territorial legislation.

I have recently seen some gentlemen from East Florida who are here on Rail Road business. I feel certain that the Breckinridge² prospects are not exaggerated there. Bell's party³ are making a strong rally in Georgia. In our [own], the first district, we are immensely ahead and also in Cherokee, the strong hold of the Democracy. I believe the popular vote will be for B. and L.⁴ Johnson's⁵ speech here was a dead failure. The morning News⁶ reported correctly that when Col. Lawton asked the chairman if they desired the Noes to be taken he replied he did not. Johnson was hissed once or twice, and when Breckinridge and Yancey's⁷ names were pronounced they were received with shouts of applause. . . .

If I can aid the committee in any way let them command my services (I mean in the limits of our city). I am heart and hand with them in this last endeavor to shield my native soil from degradation and the Union from dissolution. . . .

To Mrs. E. N. Cosens, 30 Union Square, New York

My dear Daughter,

Sept. 25, 1860.

. . . I have not written since the 14th, not knowing how to direct. I thought you were going to St. Catherine from Toronto.

¹ "Old Peter Cone," Democratic leader of Bulloch County.

² J. C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, candidate of the Southern wing of the Democratic party for the presidency, 1860.

³ The "Constitutional Union" party, composed of remnants of the Whig, and American parties; which nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, 1860.

⁴ Breckinridge and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, the Southern Democratic ticket.

⁵ Herschel V. Johnson, former Governor, who in this election ran (with Stephen A. Douglas), as nominee of the regular Democratic party for Vice President.

⁶ The Savannah News, independent daily.

⁷ William L. Yancey, of Alabama, who for over a decade had been a leader of the secessionist element in the Southern Democracy.

You have indeed had a hard time and I hope the remainder of your trip may compensate you for it. The truth is, except for the sights of nature at Niagara, New York City is the only place worth visiting for itself at the entire North. The people of the North are a foreign and hostile people to us and I wish no alliance with them. We ask no favors, we ask simply to be let alone. This they refuse to do, and they threaten us now in our very households and carry their unholy meddling to our very hearthstones. I wish the affair would come to a point. I wish to breast the storm now and not to have it burst over the heads of those dear to me after I shall have laid mine in the grave.

Mr. Toombs staid with me. I gave him a splendid dinner on Saturday. . . . Mr. Toombs went off by the night train and we all remained until he left, William driving him down in my buggy. Bartow has come out for the Breckinridge Party. He could not come to dinner, for which I was sorry. . . .

To Wm. C. Lowber, Esq. Phila.

Dear Sir,

Dec. 7, 1860.

Your letter relative to your two Sons came duly to hand. I should really blush for the South if I thought there was any possibility of a quiet gentleman who attended to his own business ever being molested because he came from the North. I would proffer my hand as security for such young men as I know your Sons to be.

Those men who have been molested in and near Savannah were notorious receivers of stolen goods from negroes, negro liquor sellers and gamblers. Such was Blyler. The man Ribero¹ was actually concocting an insurrection and got off well when he took his life with him.

The feeling here is not noisy but it is deep. The North is ruled by the Swards,² Sumners,³ Wilsons,⁴ Greelys,⁵ Ward Beechers⁶ and such like, and it is worse than folly to attempt any longer to affiliate with them. They deliberately

¹ Joseph W. Ribero, reported in the Savannah papers to be a free mulatto; who had in October, 1860, told negro slaves near Savannah that Lincoln would free them. Ribero incited them to insurrection, was detected, whipped, and driven out of the city.

² William H. Seward, of New York, Lincoln's Secretary of State.

³ Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts.

⁴ Henry Wilson, Senator from Massachusetts.

⁵ Horace Greeley, abolitionist editor of the New York *Tribune*.

⁶ Henry Ward Beecher, the well-known clergyman, an abolitionist.

break the contract on their side and insist on our keeping bound by it on ours. They are *too tender conscienced* to allow us the sin of Slavery. I hope their lives answer to this pretension of holiness. We love and respect those Northern friends who acted for the Constitution, but with the fanatics who rule you and would rule us, we are ready for war to the knife and the knife to the handle. Such cold blooded villains as Seward and Sumner, who are pulling down the pillars of our Constitution merely to gratify personal ambition and who, cowardly and safe from harm personally, are yet ready to cry "———— and let slip the dogs of war" on the country . . . ought to be shot down in their tracks.

We here are strictly on the defensive. We are fighting for our very hearthstones. The Southern man who falters now is a wretch for the finger of scorn to point at.

It is enough to make one weep when he reflects on the awful condition to which blind fanaticism controlled by cool calculating craft has reduced our glorious country. The very state which decided the election of the buffoon Lincoln refused to admit the negroes to a political equality and his own State refuses the free negro a habitation within its limits. Glorious consistency!

To Dr. James J. Waring,¹ Washington City

My dear Doctor,

Dec. 28, 1860.

. . . We have fallen upon evil times. The constant and flagrant violation of the constitution by the majority of the Northern States, the avowed determination never to rest in their aggressive course on Slavery as it exists in the South, until it is swept off from our Soil, regardless of the total ruin thereby inflicted on the White Race in the South, the insolence so openly shown since the election of Lincoln in prospect of what they consider the near consummation of their wishes, all, in my view, demand imperatively that the Southern States should dissolve their connection with the Northern. But this I accept as a matter of stern necessity, not voluntary choice, for I do not, nor have I ever believed in a peaceable secession. The ties which have bound the States together for commercial, postal and foreign relations are too many and too complicated to be un-

¹ A physician, originally from Savannah, who after studying abroad, practiced in Washington.

loosed readily. Many a one will have to be cut with the sword.

I believe we have a very nearly unanimous South as far as the Cotton States are concerned.

Our women will emulate their predecessors in our Revolutionary war.

It is a practical question with us, not only as to existence and prosperity, but whether we are to [be] disfranchised of our liberties and subjugated to domination of the Black Race. In a few words, to gratify an abstract fanatical idea about the equality of the Black and White Races, entertained by men many of whom have hardly even seen a Negro, the best government on the face of the Earth is to be destroyed, and we are to run the risk of seeing our hearthstones decorated with blood.

God grant that my views may be too sombre. . . .

Georgia has passed a state law which will prevent a poor devil of a Doctor from collecting a bill under a year from judgement, hence throwing him completely at the mercy of his debtors.

I really feel very much worried about my own prospects. We see the beginning, the end no man knoweth. . . .

The dissolution of this Union is inevitable. What will become of its fragments, God only knows. The course of the South is a just one, we act solely on the defensive, and we have not interfered with a solitary right of the North, we have quietly paid the taxes levied on us for her industry in the shape of a protective Tariff. The course of the North has been subversive of our rights, destructive of our property, arrogant in its assumptions of superiority and virtually treating us as inferiors. Tolerance is no longer a virtue, but resistance, which has become a necessity. . . .

To Mrs. Annie [?] Bowen, 1835 Delancey Place [Philadelphia]

My dear Mrs. Bowen,

Jan. 14, 1861.

Your last letter came duly to hand. Dr. Fish¹ paid up to the seventh of this month and I collected your coupons.

Georgia is going out of the Union. God speed her in her fight for equality and independence.

¹ Probably Dr. John D. Fish, a Savannah physician.

To Mrs. Cornelia Stirk,¹ 428 Greenwich St., N. Y.

Dear Madam,

Jan. 21, 1861.

. . . From certain causes a special deed was made for Tom for me as Trustee. Otherwise he would have gone as Fitzherbert's other negroes did. He cannot be sold without a decree in Equity. Besides I would object to his being sold outside of the city at any rate. He has a wife here and it is considered highly improper to part man and wife in selling unless it cannot possibly be avoided. Tom is a delicate man and would not bring a high price at the best of times. He pays up a handsome interest and I have never let him be at any expense for sickness to either Fitz or yourself. . . .

*To Rev. Father Tellier, Principal of St. Johns College,²
Fordham, N. York*

Jan. 29, 1861.

. . . George has sent me some of his testimonials. . . . Notwithstanding the difficulties between North and South I have no disposition to bring George home. . . . It is chiefly because your Institution keeps itself aloof from the fanaticism of the day that I am willing to let him remain North one minute. . . .

To Mrs. A. E. Bowen

Dear Mrs. Bowen,

Feb. 22, 1861.

. . . Enclosed you will receive check no. 14 Mechanics Savings and Loan Association on Cashier Bank of Commerce N. Y. for one hundred and twenty 40/100 dollars . . . being the dividend on Southwestern R. R. Stock. . . . Not a Bank is drawing on the North. . . . I am afraid we will have troublous times yet. . . .

To Mrs. A. E. Bowen

Dear Mrs. Bowen,

March 29, 1861.

. . . I am quite amused to hear that the Northern people have no confidence in Southern property. I should have sup-

¹ The widow of Fitzherbert Stirk. Here is a curious case, in which a Northern girl, who had never been South, lived in part on the income from a slave in Savannah.

² Established 1841; placed under management of the Jesuits, 1846; changed name to "Fordham University," 1905. [I am indebted to Professor Leo S. Stock for this note].

posed that they had squeezed too many solid dollars out of us to doubt their being real and no hocus-pocus. But they have killed the goose that laid the golden egg and the South will hereafter fail to pay tribute to a foreign and hostile people like the majority of the Northern People. The talk about a division of sentiment here is nonsense. We are united and feel that in dissolving the Union we have thrown off a clog to our prosperity which our Loyalty to past History and Associations made us bear until self defense forced us to cast it off.

To George E. James [?], St. Johns College, Fordham, N. Y.

Dear George,

May 4, 1861.

I have been much worried about you. I confess I never dreamed that there was such fierce malignity against the South as I now find existing in the North. We have aggressed in nothing. We stand up simply for our rights. We ask nothing of the North but to be let alone. To this they reply, "No, Subjugation or Submission or Extermination." We have no resource but arms to decide. We are right. God must be with us.

I cannot leave you at the North. I do not believe you in personal safety. I have made arrangements with Mr. Spooner of Harden's Express Company to bring you. . . . I have just seen young Woodbridge¹ just arrived from Princeton via Cincinnati. At every station North they would come into the cars and cry out: "Any Southerners here?" What a contrast here. Unless a man commits an overt act no one asks him whether he is Northerner or Southerner.

You will see the necessity of keeping close your mouth.

To Mrs. A. E. Bowen

Dear Mrs. Bowen,

May 11, 1861.

. . . Today I collected the interest on the Rail Road bonds Grest [?] has not paid. I thought it best to remit to you at once. I received \$357.00. I send Check no. 254 Merchants and Planters Bank on Merchants Bank Baltimore for \$353.47, to your order, being that amount less one per cent premium. I

¹ Presumably the son of one of the four "Woodbridge Brothers," who were Commission Merchants and Insurance Agents in Savannah.

could get no check on New York nor on Philadelphia. Mr. Roberts advised me to try on Baltimore. He has endorsed a remark in pencil on the check, as his bank has done business with the Farmers and Merchants Bank in Philadelphia.

Now for the future. If the North intend to carry out the threats of their rabid papers, the South will be a howling wilderness. We at least know them, treacherous, vindictive, malignant, hating us in their heart of hearts, now showing it at last in their threats of rapine, murder, lust, and incendiarism. The diabolical threats have served here to nerve man and woman to the contest, and their victories must be achieved over our dead bodies, or we must survive to be a point for the slow wavering finger of scorn, to see our women subjected to the brutal passions of the ruffian hordes of the over populous cities of the North. "Let him not that putteth on his armour boast like him that taketh it off." I calmly leave it to the future to decide whether or not we are able successfully to defend our rights. Union with the North can never again take place. We must conquer our independence or we must literally be crushed out. . . .

How I am to remit to you in the future I cannot tell. . . .

*To Rev. A. Regmer, Treasurer, St. John's College,
Fordham, N. Y.*

June 5, 1861.

Enclosed you will find a draft of one hundred dollars no. 463, Merchants Savings and Loan Association on the Bank of Commerce, N. Y. City, payable to your order. This to be credited to George James' account and I wish the greatest economy in its expenditure. Of course we feel the effects of the war of subjugation undertaken by the North upon us., but we shall deem no sacrifice too great to free us from the murderous tyranny of the Northern Fanatics.

I have permitted George to stay until the end of his term because I feared taking him away now would dampen his ardor for study.

I wish him sent home at the end of the term. I hope he will take a plenty of prizes.

To J. Potter Williamson, Oglethorpe Light Infantry,¹ Virginia

Dear Potter,

Aug. 4, 1861.

When the first news of the recent great Battle² arrived you may suppose that all your relatives felt extremely anxious to hear news of you. The first news was that you had been left sick at Winchester. After that came a damning report that you had left your company and could not be found anywheres and then that you had really passed over to the enemy. I most indignantly denied the possibility of such a thing for one of your blood and courage, but I was answered that the report had been confirmed. . . . Could I give you authentic information of the man or men who spread it I would do so, that you might call him or them to a personal account. . . . Yesterday my heart was lightened by Dr. Charlton who told me he had seen you on duty at Manassas and looking well and cheerful. Oh, Potter, my heart beat with thankful motion to find that the charge against you was a lie. . . . Pray hereafter write to me occasionally. I was detained in the country the day you left and regretted missing seeing you. Accept my best wishes for your safety and prosperity.

To Genl. Henry C. Wayne, Adj. Gen. of the State of Georgia

Dear Sir,

Feb. 22, 1862.

I address you on a subject of great importance to the internal affairs of this city, viz., to secure from the proper authorities an exemption from draft of the Employees of the Savannah Water Works. Our pumps are of a peculiar construction and an ordinary Engineer has to be taught their management. . . . I would respectfully ask, as a matter of necessity for the safety of our city from fire, the exemption from draft of the Superintendent, Secretary, Engineer and Turncock of the Savh. Water Works.³

R. D. Arnold,
Chairman, Board of Commissioners,
Savh. Water Works.

¹ A volunteer company of Savannah; organized 1856, it is said to have been the first company to offer its services to the Confederacy for the entire War; later consolidated with the 8th Georgia regiment.

² First Battle of Manassas (Bull Run), July 20, 21, 1861.

³ Exemption from the draft acts was one of the chief causes of controversy between the Georgia State officials and the Confederate authorities.

To William C. Cosens, Savh. Geo.

Dear Mr. Cosens, Burke C., Geo. Mar. 31, 1862.

. . . I really have been what I told you in Savannah, an ill man. I look forward to my little town with some anticipation of recuperation. I am in better condition for it than when I left home. . . .

Did you tend to the insurance for me? Sell Master Owen by all means. Gordon thinks he would bring two hundred dollars more in Macon than in Savh., that the Savh. traders would buy just to ship to Macon to make a profit. He has had every chance. He had better be sold away, for he would only worry and disgrace his family.

I know not what we are to do with our servants if the Yankees take us. To put town negroes to work suddenly in the fields is to sacrifice one half, unless the care and eye of an owner were over them. . . .

To Mrs. Lizzie Robertson, Washington, Wilkes Co. [Georgia]¹

Dear Mrs. Robertson, May 18, 1862.

. . . We are in fearful times and here in Savannah completely topsy-turvy as to what we shall do.² I think of hiring a house in Columbus [or Columbia?] for Ellen to go to Housekeeping. Could a house be obtained in Washington?

Ellen and her children enjoy excellent health. With kind regards to Dr. Robertson.

To Miss Agnes Dillon,³ Madison Springs, Geo.

My dear Agnes, July 18, 1862.

. . . The weather is hot, Physicians are scarce, there is considerable sickness and I am overworked.⁴ . . . Everything is very quiet here. There is a good deal of sickness among the soldiers. But few people comparatively have remained in town, between absentees from pleasure and absentees from fear. I

¹ Washington is between Augusta and Athens.

² Ft. Pulaski, below Savannah, had been captured by the Union naval forces, April 11, 1862; after a gallant defense commanded by Col. Charles H. Olmstead, of Savannah. The capture of the city was feared.

³ Dr. Arnold's ward.

⁴ Arnold was serving as Director of the Savannah Medical College Hospital, which served the State and Confederate Governments.

suppose you receive Savannah or other newspapers to keep you advised of the glorious courage and heroism of our soldiers as illustrated in the bloody fields of Richmond¹ and at the gallant city of Vicksburg.²

Give my love to your sister and little Mary. Tell the latter I hope to see her come back a finished little lady.

*To W. Muller, Esq. Principal, the Lucy Cobb Institute,³
Athens, Geo.*

Dear Sir,

Sept. 9, 1862.

My ward Miss Agnes Dillon will be in Athens in a few days in order to enter the Institute under your charge. . . . I expect to keep her there the remainder of the year. I suppose that some deduction can be made for her entering so late. . . . If a suitable deduction is made . . . let her select the branches she wishes to study, make out her bill and draw on me at sight for the amount through the Bank of the State of Georgia here. . . .

*To Julian Hartridge, Representative from Georgia,
Conf. Congress, Richmond, Va.*

Washington, Wilkes Co.

Dear Hartridge,

Sept. 28, 1862.

The city of Savannah is likely to be seriously embarrassed by the Conscript Law and I must solicit your action as our Representative to free us from it. There is danger that sooner or later our whole supply of water will be cut off from the impossibility of hiring Engineers to work the Engines which lift the water. . . . The situation as regards the employment of Engineers is this. The Rail Roads want every good Engineer they can obtain, Engineers are exempt when in their Employ, hence we cannot obtain one for love or money and could not of

¹ During the Peninsular Campaign, June, July, 1862.

² Farragut's gunboats ran up the Mississippi, past Vicksburg in the spring of '62; after which it was strongly fortified by the Confederates, and the early movements of the Union armies towards the city were repulsed.

³ Incorporated 1857, opened as a school for girls, 1859. It was established in response to a growing demand that educational opportunities for girls should be as good as those afforded boys; and was named for a daughter of Thomas R. R. Cobb, who aided in its establishment. It has continued running, with few interruptions, to the present time. [I am indebted to Professor E. M. Coulter for this note.]

course retain one if we did. We ought to have, either by exemption or detail, two Engineers. . . . The Confederate Hospital in our city is supplied gratuitously from our Water Works. . . .

To William C. Cosens

Washington, Ga.

Dear Mr. Cosens,

Sept. 30, 1862.

I heard a letter read today from an officer of the army of the Potomac with great means of observation and of excellent judgement. It made me feel blue. It was a private letter to a near relative and not meant in any way for the Public. He reports the *Union* feeling in Maryland where our army went as almost unanimous.¹ The millers took down the machinery of their mills and sent it away to avoid being forced to grind. He says the stragglers are fearfully numerous and estimates the losses of our army in killed and wounded and stragglers at 30,000. He always opposed the invasion policy and asks, if twenty millions cannot conquer six by invasion, how can six conquer twenty.

To William C. Cosens

Washington, Ga.

Dear Mr. Cosens,

Oct. 6, 1862.

. . . I think the Yankees are meditating something against Savh. to be done shortly. I do not like the signs, knowing how awfully weakened we are by sickness. Is it possible that Stephens has finished your rifle? In relation to Maryland I consider it in the West, the most populous part and containing the majority of the white inhabitants and very few slaves, to be overwhelmingly Union. The most trustworthy writers so represent it. The wealth and the intelligence of the State are with us but alas powerless. Her Geographical position measurably cuts her off from us. The Potomac is a natural Boundary. I believe Lee's movement was simply relative to Harper's Ferry. Besides, it had dash about it. . . .

¹ Lee's first invasion of Maryland was checked at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.

To William C. Cosens

Washington, [Ga.]

Dear Mr. Cosens,

Oct. 7, 1862.

. . . I am now certain after reading the papers that a grab game is about to be played for the mayoralty. You will find the same Aldermen to the Holcomb and Purse tickets. I could not consent to take part in such a contest. . . . I doubt my ability to stand the fatigue of body and mind. I do not want the Mayoralty. . . . I am much better today. General Toombs is here but I have not yet seen him. . . .

To Jacob Waldburg, Clarkesville, Geo.

My dear Waldburg,

Oct. 18, 1862.

. . . No man of reflection can be otherwise then uneasy & worried as to the fate of the country. The crisis has been forced upon us by our Northern (so called) Brethren. For one, come will what may I have nothing to retract, nothing to repent of. The Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln must have [shown] those whom the brutalities of Butler¹ failed to convince, that in the Northern portion of the old United States we had an implacable, crafty and vindictive foe who stood ready, whenever it suited their convenience, to uproot the very foundations of Southern Society, and bury us all in one common ruin. . . .

I feel gratified at the news from the West, but am really afraid of a more formidable enemy at home, that is Famine. Whether it be owing to combinations not to sell, or to scarcity, provisions are extraordinarily high. How people with very limited means manage to get along is hard to understand. Just at this time Grits command a half dollar a half peck. We were led to believe that there would be a fine crop of corn. Wheat is out of the question except to the wealthy. Beef is 20 cents, lard fifty cents, salt one dollar a quart, eggs seventy-five cents a dozen, pork 35 cts., mutton 30, butter \$1 25/100 a pound. Potatoes, sweet, four dollars a bushel (they were at eight), chickens \$1 25/100 a pair [?], Fowls \$2 50/100. This is a frightful prospect, is it not? The man who can raise his own corn is now the independent man. Oh what a debt of crime have the

¹ General Benjamin F. Butler, commander of the Union army which had coöperated in the capture of New Orleans, April, 1862. His order concerning the women of the city caused intense indignation.

malignant Yankees incurred. Can generations serve to make us forget the suffering they have inflicted upon us? . . .

To William C. Cosens

Dear Mr. Cosens,

Nov. 5, 1862.

. . . I want Ellen and the children out of danger in case of a bombardment. I believe Savh will be attacked this fall or winter. If she will remain at Madison¹ I would buy the house at \$2500.00, spare a thousand, and reserve for Expenses. This winter must close the war, one way or the other. *We* cannot stand our isolation from the manufacturing productive world.

To Hannah Cohen, Quitman, Geo.

Dear Madam,

May 6, 1863.

Mr. Young's receipt and the Bacon came to hand this morning. I hope the Bacon is choice, though perfectly willing to give 70 cts. it is by no means cheap. . . . Enclosed you will receive one hundred and fifty-five dollars, thirty five to pay Mr. Young for the Bacon and one hundred and twenty for the sugar. . . .

To John Stoddard, Esq.²

Chairman Comiss. Public Sch. of Chatham Co.

Dear Stoddard,

June 11, 1863.

. . . The commissioners of the Massie School did not raise the Salary of the Principal, which is \$1500., although I think it ought to be. . . . The Salary of the 1st. Assist. in the Senior Department was raised from \$600 to \$900; that of the second asst. from \$500 to \$650, that of the Principal of the Junior Department from \$600 to \$800. . . .

To J. H. Waldburg, Clarkesville, Geo.

My dear Waldburg,

Aug. 14, 1863.

. . . I regret to hear of Mrs. Waldburg's suffering. . . . My belief is that her nervous system is at fault. God knows we have enough to disturb that of any reflecting human being. I am perfectly sensible that my health has been seriously affected by surrounding circumstances, change of habits, loss of cheerful

¹ Madison, Morgan County, Ga., on the Georgia Railroad between Augusta and Atlanta.

² Probably John Stoddard, a Savannah planter.

company, restricted diet, and the anxiety as to the future which is a concomitant of such a condition as the Confederate States are now in. . . . Mr. Ward has gotten safely out of the Confederate States on some confidential mission from the Government. He ought to have been our commissioner to England. His mission to China and the Peiho affair¹ had already given access to a circle of Society in London. . . . What his mission and what his powers I do not know.²

The signs of the times are indeed gloomy but the darkest cloud has arisen at home. The extortion of the producers of Provisions are abominable and very soon no man can command the necessities of life whose income is not a very large [one]. We are swindled from A. to Z, and by A. to Z. The Agriculturist, the Producer, coolly takes advantage of the exigencies of the times and not only does not contribute one cent towards the suffering and starving soldier, but extorts prices eight to ten times more than old Prices for articles which cost neither more money nor more labor than formerly. Look how our Seaboard Planters, driven from home by a ruthless foe, have been treated by the Agriculturists of the Interior. A Seaboard Carolinian informed me that the same treatment was accorded to the Seaboard Carolinians by the Agriculturists of Interior Carolina. The Interior of the Country was never so rich. . . .

To Dr. J. G. Robertson, Washington, Ga.

My dear Doctor,

April 14, 1864.

. . . I thought a new Herod had directed his spleen against the children. I have had repeated cases of true Enteri-Colitis amongst them, and amongst adults cases of the most malignant Dysentery. . . . The Nitrate of Silver has been my sheet anchor. . . . Your views about provisions are but too correct. The farmer

¹ John E. Ward was appointed Minister to China by President Buchanan, 1858. (Arnold had suggested him for a cabinet post). While he was negotiating a treaty with the Chinese Government, hostilities began between the latter, and the French and British naval forces at the mouth of the Peiho. When these attempted to reduce the river forts, they were assisted by Commodore Tattnall, of Savannah, in command of an American warship. This is probably the "affair" referred to above. An interesting description of it, which also notes Ward's participation, is given by E. S. Maclay, "New Light on the 'Blood is Thicker Than Water' Episode," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, XL. 1085 ff. (Aug., 1914). [I am indebted to Dr. C. O. Paullin for this citation].

² Ward was employed by the Confederate Navy Department, as a legal agent, in connection with the construction of naval vessels in British shipyards.

ought to have been made to pay one half his taxes in kind, and the other half in money. The history of this war will not emblazon the patriotism of the Producers in very bright characters. A more selfish unpatriotic lot never cursed a country and, if we should fail, on them will rest the responsibility. . . . I'll take the Lard and thank you in the bargain. From the late season I suppose I can hardly expect Butter until June.

To Dr. J. G. Robertson

My dear Doctor,

May 24, 1864.

Your last letter showing the amount of my indebtedness to you for the Lard and Molasses and the express freight, viz. \$243.00, came duly to hand. . . . I have sent three hundred in fives equal to two hundred and fifty five in new currency.

Your garden is properly the object of your care for hygiene and for economy. Vegetables with us are mounting high, a cabbage from \$1.50 to \$5.00 according to size, Irish Potatoes five dollars a *quart*, etc. Much of this is owing to the fact that our own Soldiers plunder every garden patch in the most shameful manner and the few gardeners who supply the market are obliged literally to guard their grounds with guns in their hands. Such are the demoralizing effects of war even when waged as by us in a just and holy cause. May God in his infinite mercy deliver us soon from our tribulations.¹ . . .

*To Mr. Isaac Scinyers [?], at Dr. Howard's,
Chesters District, A. & S. R. R., Burke Co.,² Geo.*

Dear Sir,

July 9, 1864.

Mrs. Howard has written me that they are about to impress corn and advised me to take steps to secure mine now on Dr. Howard's plantation. . . . Enclosed you will find an order from

¹ Arnold was again serving as Mayor at this time; his fourth and fifth terms running, together, from Oct. 19, 1863 to Dec. 11, 1865. He wrote Gen. Beauregard in January, '64, relative to the food shortage, that: "hardly a house in Savannah had even its supply of grits, that necessary article of consumption having risen as high as \$16 a bushel." No copy of this letter is in his letter books; the above quotation is taken from Thomas Gamble, *A History of the City Government of Savannah, Ga., from 1790 to 1901*, (appended to the Mayor's Annual Report, 1900), pp. 260, 261.

² The "Augusta and Savannah Railroad" ran through Burke County, which is on the Savannah river below Augusta.

Major Locke, Chief Commissary, that my corn shall not be disturbed. On no account must you part with Major Locke's permit. . . .

To Thomas Barrett,¹ Augusta, Ga.

Dear Sir,

Nov. 19, 1864.

In our present state of affairs I am rather anxious about the wines you have so kindly taken care of for me and hardly know what to do about them. I did think Augusta the safest place for them but now I begin to doubt this. The wines are above all price and I would dislike to see them sacrificed, independently of all pecuniary considerations. If they can be shipped to me and you think it best you will greatly oblige me by doing so at once.

To W. H. Baldwin, Esq., one of the Boston Relief Committee²²

Dear Sir,

February 8th, 1865.

My meeting with you this morning was an unexpected pleasure, as I had believed that you had left the city some days since,—a pleasure not arising alone from personal considerations, but also from the fact that your continued presence among us has enabled you to witness the effects of the generosity of your fellow-townsmen to our suffering people, and to judge for yourself of the mode of distribution which has been adopted by the corporate authorities, which, I was gratified to learn from you, met your approval.

The peculiar circumstances under which we are placed, rendered this duty somewhat difficult. As I have said in my addresses to our public meetings, one great difficulty is the want of remunerative industrial occupation for the classes accustomed to work; and, until the unhappy strife now carrying on between the North and South shall have terminated, and the channels of intercourse between town and country be again opened, and the mutual relations of supply and demand between

¹ Probably Thomas G. Barrett, who was in the wholesale drug business in Augusta, at the beginning of the Civil War. He served with the Confederate armies which opposed Sherman's march through Georgia at the time noted above, but Arnold may have found it possible to reach him at his Augusta address.

²² One of the three agents of the "Boston Citizens' Committee on the Relief of Savannah," who had arrived in Savannah with large supplies of food, Jan. 25, 1865. For explanation of this Committee's work, see below, p. 119, n. 1.

them be re-established, this state of affairs must exist more or less.

The sudden dissolution of the relations of master and servant, which have hitherto regulated a large class of our labor, has produced, and will produce, effects not easily comprehended by those who are not on the spot to witness them.

In days gone by, Savannah proudly claimed the honor of being the pioneer of the great works of internal improvement which rendered Georgia so prosperous; and, in the ratio of her population, can challenge most cities to a comparison of the capital contributed for those purposes. But a sad change has occurred. Her bank capital has been swallowed up in the vortex of Confederate currency; her immediate railroads have been damaged to an extent which will require a large amount of labor and capital to repair; and the productive powers of the country at large are—for the present at least—entirely prostrated.

Unless labor, the source of all well-being in this world, shall be re-organized in some practical form, a dreary future awaits the South. But it is the part of common sense to look evils sternly in the face, to acknowledge them when they exist, and to make every effort to remedy them.

The alternative is to succumb in hopeless despondency,—an alternative which will not be accepted by any of our people. We have a trying period to pass through; but we will pass through it, though many faint by the way.

The course of events is often as impetuous and irresistible as the Cataracts of Niagara; yet they find their way into a comparatively placid lake: so may the waters of our revolution subside.

The preamble and resolutions of the meeting of citizens of Savannah, a copy of which I have the honor to subjoin, fully express the sentiments entertained in this city in relation to the generous and spontaneous action of your city. The pleasant intercourse with your associates, Messrs. Briggs and Hyde, and yourself, has, I hope, on your part, as it has on ours, bound more closely the ties which are destined hereafter to keep us joined together as fellow-citizens of a wide-spread Republic.¹

¹ This letter is reprinted from the pamphlet, *Savannah and Boston: Account of the Supplies Sent to Savannah*, etc. Boston, 1865, pp. 33, 34.

To the President of the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York

Mar. 4, 1865.

The dues on my policy of Life Insurance in your company no. 556, Date 30 March, 1844, were paid regularly up to the 30 March, 1862. On the 29th day of March, 1862, I proffered payment to W. P. Hunter in gold coin of the full amount premium, which was refused as he said he was no longer agent. This was done in due form and I have before me the regular notarial protest against all damages to me, cut off as I was from all communication with you. I had intended in the spring of 1861 to go on to New York to make an arrangement with the Company but was prevented from doing so. Would to God that I had, for I have always looked upon this Assurance as a provision for my family after my death, and nothing has worried me more than the prospect of losing it after so many years of faithful payment. Your Company will recognize me as the Medical Examiner for years in this city. I now write to ask if in equity I cannot be allowed to pay up the back dues and continue the assurance. . . .

I beg your attention to my case. You at the North cannot fully understand the entire ruin which this unfortunate and accursed war has inflicted on us. . . . I have always had a confidence that your company, the oldest and richest in the country, would act with magnanimity and I trust this confidence will not be misplaced.

To Harrison O. Briggs, Esq.¹ Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir,

Mar. 17, 1865.

Your letter of the 16th ult. came duly to hand and I delayed answering because up to the beginning of this month I expected to be able to reply to it in person at the North. I should have been pleased to have availed myself of the hospitable quarters of the Greyhound but at the time she left myself and colleagues had not been able to obtain permission to go on, and strange enough nearly three weeks elapsed from the time when our application reached General Foster before permission was obtained and then it was limited to New York. I have every reason to believe that we were refused permission to go to Washington.²

¹ One of three agents of the Boston Citizens' Committee.

² Arnold wished to go North for several reasons; *viz.* to see the President at Washington *re* a provisional government in Georgia, to make arrangements for the relief of the destitute in Savannah, and (presumably) to settle the status of his personal insurance.

The trip of myself and colleagues was abandoned much to my regret although it would have been a great personal inconvenience for me to have left the city at that time. Judging from some articles I have seen in Northern papers, I fear there has been some particular undercurrent at work relating to Savannah. I have taken pains to converse with various citizens. Many who stood aloof at first from the proceedings, are now perfectly convinced of their propriety, and I can state unequivocally that an almost unanimous desire exists to see a speedy termination of a contest which is continuing a criminal expenditure of blood, because it can in no wise benefit the South, and can only serve to give a handle to those at the North who are prepared for the harshest measures against the South.¹

Everything here is kept with a strict hand. The post is strictly closed, except a special permit be obtained from the Treasury Department. Mr. Lincoln, an established druggist,² obtained from General Sherman permission to go to New York and bring an invoice of drugs and medicine, of which our city was and is in great need. They came as far as ———— and there they have stuck for two months and Mr. L. has been obliged to go on to Washington to obtain a permit to get them to Savannah.

The city is much as you left it, there being a stop to all labour except the little afforded by shipping the cotton that has been seized by the U. S. Government. I have been astonished to learn how many small parcels had been accumulated by private individuals, say from one to ten bags. The cotton was bought as a means of procuring available funds when the crash came, because there were no means of shipping it out of the Confederacy.

Had even a portion of the value been given to Bonafide holders it would have been of great service.³ As it is, with City

¹ Savannah was surrendered by Mayor Arnold, to General Sherman, Dec. 21, 1864; whereupon the latter sent his famous wire offering the city as a "Christmas gift" to President Lincoln. Arnold called a town meeting, on Dec. 28th; at which it was "unanimously" decided to accept the Union Government loyally; and the Governor of Georgia was requested to call a convention to pass upon the question of ending the War. These are the "proceedings" referred to above.

² W. W. Lincoln, who conducted a drug store at the corner of Bull and Congress Sts.

³ General Sherman ordered all cotton in the city seized, even the large amount in private hands. This had been the only form of wealth remaining to the citizens, save for real estate.

bonds not available, Rail Roads smashed up, Banks broken and negroes thrown loose, our situation is a terrible one.

All the channels of labour and commerce are blocked up, and at present I see no indication of setting them free again.¹

I heard today from pretty good authority that the majority of the people in the interior are in favor of coming back under the government, but they do not know how to accomplish it. The Legislature of Georgia has refused to call a convention, and the people are thus cut off from expressing their real views. It is very strange to me that a convention could be called to go out of the Union and one denied to ascertain whether the same people do or do not desire to come back again.²

The fact is that the leaders of Politics seem to have lost all decision and firmness. I use these words because such qualities are very often more required to acknowledge error and retrieve mistakes than to rush into them.

The course of the U. S. Government has also, in my belief, been too stringent and has driven many to the brink of despair. Had the cotton been spared when it was really private property and had a new proclamation of amnesty and the protection of all property except Slaves, issued, I am well satisfied that all Georgia would at once have fallen into line and other States would soon follow. The saving to the United States by the discontinuance of their vast war preparations at an early date would far exceed any amount of money which may be realized by the Sale of a few thousand bags of cotton.

¹ The situation of Savannah at this time, was a peculiarly difficult one. On the one hand, it was cut off from the interior, which remained in Confederate control; and on the other, it was still denied the privileges of a port of entry by the Union Government. Even the post office was closed to the majority of citizens. Thus isolated, it had to provide not only for its own people, but for the former slaves who crowded into the city, and for some five hundred families of white refugees.

² A "peace movement" had appeared in North Carolina as early as 1862, and a similar movement gained headway in Georgia as Sherman invaded the State in '64. Peace resolutions of a cautious character were introduced in the Georgia Assembly by Linton Stephens, in March '64, and were immediately adopted. Sherman captured Atlanta early in September, Hood retreated into Alabama, and Savannah fell late in December. Peace sentiment increased, as the last defenses were overcome. In January, '65, Gov. Brown was preparing a message urging upon the Assembly the very measure which Arnold despaired of securing from the politicians; i. e. a State convention to negotiate a "separate peace" for Georgia. The failure of the Hampton Roads Conference, Feb. 3, '65, probably discouraged peace efforts, however; and the message Brown finally sent to the Assembly, Feb. 15, urged only a general Southern convention, to consider the crisis in Confederate affairs.

I consider the question of Slavery as a settled one, but the effects of a sudden and indiscriminate emancipation are a problem yet to be worked out.

Both the British Government and the United States Government have acknowledged by treaty that Slaves were property. In the estimate of the prosperity of the U. States, Slave property was put down at over two thousand millions.

The sudden annihilation of such an amount is of course a very grave matter in a political economical point of view, but it is not as grave a matter as to what disposition is to be made of the five millions of blacks thus cast loose with out restraint.

It will require a heart of a Philanthropist and the head of a Statesman to work out this problem.

I was very much gratified on receiving your letter as it assured me in my own mind that you felt an interest in our position. When leisure permits and your inclination may prompt I should be much pleased to hear from you.

To Mrs. Thomas D. Miller, Middletown, Conn.

My dear Mrs. Miller,

Mar. 18, 1865.

The receipt of your letter of the 15th inst. gave me much pleasure as it revived reminiscences of a pleasant past and gave me assurance that I was still held in your memory. May you never experience how gratifying that is when misfortune has overwhelmed you. . . .

There are many persons in Savannah who are fortunate to have friends and relatives at the North who would send them relief but the door is shut and the only "Sesame" is at the treasury Department in Washington City. . . .

It is a sad thing that often we are reconciled to the loss of friends by the conviction that they have been spared sore trials in this world. The noble and sympathetic spirit of your husband would have been troubled in these awful times. We at the South are a broken, desolate people and it will be years and years before we recover, even if it can be done. The disruption of labour, the sudden emancipation of the Blacks, the disruption of all labour on the plantations has reduced many families from affluence to literal poverty. Slaves were property, so recognized . . . but I shall not enter into any discussion, but allude only to

facts. I used to keep seven servants, a useless crew I grant. They have all left except one whose husband has an excellent room in my outbuilding where they can live comfortably. She does nothing but dress my two grandchildren. She was born in the family, raised by my wife, nursed or rather grew up with my daughter and has nursed my grandchildren and I believe she does feel an attachment to the family. But if all had remained I would not have kept them, as each does too little and costs too much. Almost every house servant in the city has left his or her place. They do *nothing* and are huddled up in small buildings. There is no business here. All communication with the Interior is cut off and we are really in a pitiable condition. . . .

To Messrs Harrison O. Briggs, Henry D. Hyde,¹ Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs,

April 13, 1865.

Your letter of the 8th ult. was received by me on the 7th inst. On the 17th ult. I wrote to Mr. Briggs and in reference to my copy of it I find that I had in that letter anticipated much that I might say in reply to your joint letter of the 8th ult. I also received a Boston Advertiser of the 28th ult. with a long editorial relative to our City. Your letter and that editorial shall be carefully preserved by me. Both are fair, manly, honorable and kind, and should such liberal sentiments as are contained therein prevail, they would prove a balm to our excoriated wounds and inaugurate a new [era?] in the relations between the North and the South. I can state with less reticence than I have heretofore done that at the last moment when we thought we might go to the North, Mr. Brigham² (and I state it with his consent) received what we deemed trustworthy information that there were orders in New York not to permit us to land but to send us back South instantler. Can you wonder that we should have given up our trip? So much for the record to prove to our kind friends that we did not vacillate. Another episode occurred which I do not care to relate which effectually put a stop to all further proceedings. I think the whole affair was unfortunate. Savannah has spoken and acted legally and frankly in two meetings, but I do not deny

¹ A member of the Boston Citizens' Committee on the Relief of Savannah.

² Henry Brigham, a Savannah merchant, then an alderman.

that many individuals have done the contrary. This very day a citizen told me in substance though not in words that Savannah had disgraced herself in the meeting of the 25th January last in response to Boston and New York, although he allowed that Boston had behaved with great dignity.¹

Now what can we do with such a man, who will talk thus on the 13th of April, 1865?² I turned on my heel, recollecting "If speech is silver, Silence is gold." I also recollected that he does not own an inch in the City of Savannah or the State of Georgia or the U. S. of America . . . that his previous connection with the cotton trade of France rendered it highly probable that he had a sufficiency laid up to keep him from keeping company with the "poor devils" who abound in these parts. . . .

Matters are fast adjusting themselves as regards the Confederacy. Nearly four months since I openly said to high officials, Where resistance is hopeless, it is criminal to make it. Let the thousands of lives since sacrificed prove whether I ought or ought not to have said it. On this theme I cannot trust myself. I acknowledge that I am at a loss how to proceed at present, officially and personally. I can but appeal to the record since the capture of the city. My course, officially and personally, was taken with due deliberation and has been undeviatingly pursued.

¹ Soon after the town meeting of Dec. 28, 1864, in Savannah, Colonel Julian Allen proceeded to New York and Boston, in an effort to sell rice which the city had taken from Confederate storehouses. The rice was not sold, but the desired supplies for Savannah were provided by voluntary contributions in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Mayor Arnold's professional associations with these cities may have expedited matters; e. g. in Boston, Mayor Lincoln, (with whom Arnold had been associated in the Sanitary Convention at Boston, 1860) headed the Citizens' Committee, which raised thirty-four thousand dollars in three days. Individual contributions ranged from five thousand dollars, to "\$1.00 from three little boys of New Bedford." Edward Everett made the last speech of his life for this cause. The supplies began to reach Savannah, Jan. 30, 1865. Before the first were landed, Arnold had called another town meeting (Jan. 25), in appreciation of the generosity of the Northern cities. The resolutions passed, thanking the citizens of the same, were notable for expressions of good feeling towards Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; although the War was still in progress. The declaration was made, e. g. that the meeting of the Boston Relief Committee in Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of American liberty in the days of our common struggle for independence, was an appropriate one for the renewal of those ties which then bound Massachusetts and Georgia in a common bond." (*Savannah and Boston*, pp. 30, 31.) Another indication of relatively good feeling towards the North, was the mass meeting held April 22, to express public sorrow upon the assassination of President Lincoln, at which Arnold acted as one of the Vice Presidents. (See *Tribute to the Late Pres. Lincoln: Report of the Great Mass Meeting in Savannah* . . . , Savannah, 1865, p. 15).

² General Lee had surrendered to Grant on April 9th, although Johnston's army was still in the field in North Carolina at this time.

In the Confederate papers I have been the object of what I deem most unmitigated black guardism and I so dismiss the subject.

As to the result in the Union I am content to leave it to the future. . . .

For your kindness, your sympathy, for those of your fellow citizens of Boston as fairly evidenced, you do have the thanks of the very great majority of our citizens.

In our present situation I repeat that I am at a loss what to do. Any suggestion would be most thankfully received.

To Dr. George C. Shattuck¹

My dear Doctor,

May 23, 1865.

Your very kind letter of the 5th January last came duly to hand and although not answered has been constantly in mind. . .

Up to the beginning of March I had expected weekly to go North and to take Boston in my route, and to have answered you in person. . . .

I am very much obliged to you for your hospitable offer. Under the circumstances it would give me the greatest pleasure to renew my pleasant old medical associations, and particularly to revisit Boston, where I have twice been the recipient of the greatest kindness in my two visits. My recent intercourse with your generous Townsmen of the Boston Relief committee adds greatly to my wish to go on, but circumstances forbid my indulging in that wish. Everything is sadly changed here. Every channel of industry is stopped. . . .

All the old political leaders are off the stage. Their lights were Ighes Fatui which have led the Southern States through brake and through briar into the abyss of ruin.

It is no light task to those who may be called upon to solve the difficult problems of the present situation. From your enlightened city I see ever hope of sympathy and kindness and aid, but in too many quarters, if I am to judge by newspaper articles, I see the most vindictive feelings and a savage desire to crush to earth and keep it crushed, the entire white population of the South.

¹ George Cheyne Shattuck, the younger (1813-1893), then professor of theory and practice in the Harvard Medical School.

If we have sinned as a People, grievously have we suffered as a People. Privation, desolation, Death from violence, have sat at every hearth stone of the South. I tax my memory in vain for any parallel in history to our Situation. Our domestic institution which made us dependent on organized Slave labour renders our situation unique. That suddenly cut away, and no props or stays supplied, our whole social Fabric has fallen in an entirety from one end of the South to the other. The negro's idea of freedom is a literal one, to have nothing to do. I do not again want slave labour. I am satisfied that it is an element of weakness in the present condition of the world, but I do want organized labour, else our whole Southern country will literally starve. Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh, and I have perhaps said too much. But things which are abstractions to you at a distance are stern realities to us on the spot.

Remember me kindly to my old acquaintances. I especially remember Drs. Bigelow,¹ Warren,² Hooper,³ Holmes,⁴ Storer,⁵ etc.

To Harrison O. Briggs, Esq. Boston

Dear Sir,

July 9, 1865.

On my return hither from Washington I found your letter of the 24th May. which must have reached this place just after my departure. Boston was in my program of visits . . . But the dilly dallying of the Insurance Company where my life had been insured for twenty one years, except the years of the war, deranged all my plans. . . .

You will ere this have seen that a Provisional Governor has been appointed for Georgia.⁶ It was to urge upon the President the propriety of and our desire for this appointment of one, as an essential preliminary to the re-establishment of civil government, that I and my colleague visited Washington. I was agree-

¹ Jacob Bigelow.

² Jonathan M. Warren, then senior surgeon of the Massachusetts General Hospital.

³ Franklin H. Hooper, Boston laryngologist; professor of laryngology in the Dartmouth Medical College, and instructor in the same subject in the Harvard Medical School.

⁴ Oliver Wendell Holmes, the distinguished anatomist, obstetrician, and man of letters.

⁵ David H. Storer, formerly professor of obstetrics, and of medical jurisprudence, in the Harvard Medical School; president of the A. M. A., 1866.

⁶ James Johnson, appointed provisional governor, June 17, 1865.

ably surprised in President Johnson, and was most favorably impressed by his looks, manners and intellect. His policy you can judge of as well as I, as it [is] shown in his proclamations appointing the provisional Governors. The internal affairs of each State must be regulated by each State, else we will have a consolidated Despotism.

After I had explained to Mr. Johnson our mission as simply to present to him personally, by means of a committee, a memorial of the citizens of Chatham County (including Savannah) requesting the appointment of a Provisional Governor, without pressing anybody for the office, he replied: "Gentlemen, before the War I was for a Government with Slavery; now, under existing conditions, I am for a government without Slavery, and the sooner, Gentlemen, you make up your mind on this point, the better." To which I said; "Mr. President, we are here to speak only for Chatham County and as communication with the Interior is very difficult, we could not speak for the Interior even if authorized, but as regards our section of the State, you may rely on it, that the death of Slavery is a foregone conclusion, it is dead beyond the power of resuscitation, and no one would be so mad as to endeavor to resuscitate it." To which he rejoined: "I have always been a Democrat and am now a Democrat and am opposed to all consolidation. As to the negro, he must learn that freedom means the proceeds of his own labour, and not the liberty to remain idle." He then referred to his North Carolina Proclamation as showing his policy in reconstruction. After this I bowed to take leave (we were all standing) when he said: "Don't be in a hurry, gentlemen, take seats." He motioned us to seats, took one himself and conversed with us *nearly an hour afterwards*.

We can thus safely assume that our visit did not annoy him. Governor Johnson passed through Savannah and the City Council called on him and requested him to address the citizens, which he did on Saturday, the 1st July. Everything went off very well during his sojourn amongst us. . . .

The great problem of properly reorganizing labour is yet to be worked out. The great difficulty so far is to get the negro to understand the obligations of a voluntary contract. He wished to be the sole arbiter, and to work when he chooses and to stop when he chooses. Vast crops of corn have already been ruined

by the abandonment of necessary labour at a critical period. Little or no cotton has been planted this year and there will not be a thousand bales over and above seed purpose raised this year. I hope I may be mistaken, but I speak only as I am informed by persons from the Interior.

You allude to certain rumors which you heard were circulated concerning you in Savannah, in relation to your action in coming here and taking a part in the distribution of the provisions so generously sent by your city. All I can say is that I have never heard the slightest echo of such a report. . . . Moreover, look at the record. You have it, Sir, in terms not to be erased in the pamphlet entitled *Savannah and Boston*.¹ . . . I have circulated that pamphlet by Scores, not because I had heard any improper remarks about any gentlemen of your city, but as an interesting record of the times and particularly as proving that there were men of high intelligence and pure philanthropy in your midst who were not enemies of the South. . . .

To Dr. J. G. Robertson

My dear Doctor,

July 29, 1865.

Our latter days have been cast in troublous times, but bad as things are, we have not seen the worst of them. Our contest was too long prolonged. Had our leaders had the sagacity to comprehend our Situation and the moral boldness to have acknowledged defeat when it had really occurred we could have made much better terms. It was my conviction that the crisis had passed when Sherman could pass through Georgia unmolested, that made me take the decided stand I did in December last. Had I had any influence outside of my limited sphere in Savannah I feel sure that much good might have resulted, from an early cessation of hostilities, after Sherman's triumphant unmolested march through Georgia.

The liberality of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia has fed a large portion of our citizens up to this time and the Government has rationed many. This supply is now exhausted and this week the Government stops all rations. What is to be done now, is a difficult problem. By the time the Civil Government is restored, the cost of feeding the destitute of the city will have

¹ See above, p. 113, n. 1.

completed the Bankruptcy of the city. The Coupons are unpaid on our Bonds and are running up a fearful amount.

My situation as a Sentinel on the public tower, enables me to see the course of events more clearly than those not in the routine of business and I confess that the contemplation of the future fills me with gloom and despondence. Yet in this city, House rent is rising and almost every decent house in the city is engaged for next fall. It seems that much faith is placed in Northern Energy and Northern Capital. They will find that the laws of Soil and Climate being the laws of Nature, cannot be changed and our semitropical climate will melt down both those elements, if white men's heads are to be exposed to the Sun's rays in agricultural labours. Still, I hope I may be mistaken, and that white free labour will flow in to fill up the vacuum now existing of Black Slave labour.

Without giving up my views as to the politico-economical effects, I accept the fact that Slavery is dead beyond the possibility of resuscitation. We inaugurated our revolution to save it because it was the corner stone of our Social institutions. With it the Southern States had [not?] made as rapid strides in prosperity as the Northern ones, because we had no foreign immigration as the North and West had, and our increase was solely from our own resources. Yet in the comparisons between the two Sections this was always kept out of view. Now immigration was the true source of the increase of the Northwest, where the great strength of the United States lies. Besides the South was a consumer of the grain of the West and furnished employment for the ships of the East and North as carriers of her great staple, and the constant boast which met me on all sides on my recent visit to Washington was that the North had greatly advanced in prosperity, that her material resources of all kinds had been increased in every particular. I replied: "Then the war ought [not?] to have continued, and as the South was worthless to you, what was the use of going to war devastating it and subjecting us." But the truth of the matter I take it to be this, that the immense impulse given to the manufacture of arms, munitions of war, vessels, clothes, etc. did create vast channels of industry, and the manufacture of paper money (& I must add the strong confidence of the People in the ultimate responsibility of the Government as to the redemption

of that Paper money) to meet all payments, afforded renumeration to all who staid away from the field. With us, every available man was in the field, and there were not enough left to carry on the ordinary industrial pursuits of Society. Hence constant exhaustion without any recuperation.

But I do not believe that war ever did really increase the resources of any country. It does develop certain ones up to a certain point and increases energy. When was ever more energy shown than by the white Southern People in our late contest, and when we consider that we are almost exclusively an agricultural people, was not the development of mechanical and manufacturing art amongst us really astonishing?

The whole country will yet feel the burden of a debt incurred in subjugating a people who, according to the New York Tribune, have degenerated mentally and Physically from a long continued diet of corn bread and bacon.

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens

My dearest Daughter,

Aug. 18, 1865.

. . . Everything about here looks gloomy for the future. The Freedmen will not work in these latitudes and every day brings accounts of crops of corn and peas (the only things, almost) which have been planted, being ruined by the desertion of the black laborers. The experience of the West Indies had already proved that such a state of things would follow unconditional emancipation. . . .

So far the Season has been a very healthy one. I suppose our Yankee friends will attribute the result to the quarantine vessel off Tybee Light.¹ By the way, I am relieved of my duty as Assistant Health officer. I suspect the officials here did not exactly like Dr. Clymer's² action. However, they are curtailing their expenses as fast as possible and I can't say that I was called upon to do much for my Salary. At one time I was afraid I might be called upon to go to Tybee to the Quarantine ground, and I began to feel a little uneasy, for I would have been under orders until my resignation had been accepted at Washington

¹ An ironic allusion; Dr. Arnold had little faith in quarantines. Tybee Light, on Tybee Island, was at the mouth of the Savannah river.

² Probably Arnold's friend, Dr. Meredith Clymer, neurologist, of Philadelphia and New York City; then lieutenant-colonel in the Federal Army Medical Department. He served as president of the Federal Army Medical Board, 1862, '63.

and might have lain there for some time. So on the whole I was very glad to be released.

Would you like the Savannah Herald sent on to you occasionally? However, you can get more news in a day than we can in a month. When you buy a paper buy the [New York] "World" and sometimes the [New York] "Express." They give you all the news.

To Harrison O. Briggs, Esq. Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir,

September 6, 1865.

Your esteemed favor of the 27 July ult. has lain by me in my drawer since its receipt in due course of mail. Having nothing of interest to communicate I have bided my time although frequently tempted to drop you a few lines containing my earnest protest against and positive denial of the systematic misrepresentation of the Northern Press as to the feeling and views of the Southern People. Also to warn you against believing the highly colored statements of the Freedmen's Bureau's friends and admirers as to the favorable condition of affairs in that Department. Time, the great corrector of evils & falsehoods, will show things in their proper light one of these days. I say to you emphatically that a full acquiescence in and submission to our present status is universal. Since I last wrote you I have had a good opportunity of learning public opinion in all portions of the State. The present (& I am afraid it will never change its tense) difficulty is to obtain the labour of freedmen. You were on the spot & saw for yourself how difficult it was last winter to obtain the most ordinary domestic help. Things are now a little better, because United States Rations are not given out so profusely to the Blacks. But still it is very difficult to obtain servants & work is done in a slovenly indifferent manner, enough to constantly annoy a housekeeper.

I feel desirous of giving you authentic information as to the status of affairs here because your views have struck me always as liberal & correct.

First, then, the example of Mississippi will be followed by Georgia & slavery constitutionally expunged from her constitution & this will be done with almost unanimity. Georgia will frankly meet the exigencies of our situation. Now I confess I feel gratified when I hear men who abused me for my course

early in the Winter, taking the same views I then had & I may appeal to the record & say what I then expressed.

This morning's Savannah Herald enables me to send you something besides my own views. Judge Starnes'¹ letters will amply repay perusal & bear republication at the North for the benefit of those who really deserve authentic information.

Judge Starnes is a man of unblemished character, of natural intelligence, & of a very polished education. He has been on the supreme court Bench, is an eminent jurist & besides a man of a very philosophic enquiring turn of mind. The very moment I had read his letters this morning I determined to send you a copy for two reasons; first, for their admirable common sense, second, because I think he has pointed out what had already been determined by the maps, but which will be fortified and strengthened by his arguments & his high standing.

I have also marked a very liberal editorial in the same number, the worth of which I have *feelingly* experienced. I confess it has required all my philosophy to restrain my feelings when I have read the systematic misrepresentation of the Southern people which I have met in some Northern papers.

I could treat them with contempt as the babblings of Black guardism were they addressed to me personally, but when I saw an article of this nature in the New York Tribune which boasts that it has "double the *country* circulation of any other paper," which I know is looked up to as an oracle by hundreds of thousands of northern voters, I confess that matters change. I can no longer feel contempt, but indignation takes its place; & when I know that refutation of such vile slanders cannot reach those whom they have poisoned, I feel in despair of the North & the South ever fully comprehending each other. It is to such spirits as yours that I look forward as destined to do much to enlighten the Northern People as to our real condition.

My daughter is North. She and her children both required a change of air. Mr. Cosens sends his respects to you.

¹ Hon. Ebenezer Starnes, appointed (with Henry L. Benning) to the Georgia Supreme Court, 1853.

To Dr. George T. Elliot Jr.¹ 18 West 29 Street, New York

My dear Doctor,

Sept. 28, 1865.

. . . I was very sorry that I missed you in N. York. I think I was rather shabbily treated by the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, who kept me five days arranging business that ought to have been accomplished in an hour, & of course I was kept running every day to meet an appointment, & so my time was frittered away & I had to leave the city without having seen several persons whom I was very desirous of seeing. I stopped four days in Philadelphia & was most kindly & warmly treated by my old friends. But as you may easily understand it is not easy for a Southern man to wear a light heart under present circumstances.

The revolution of our Social fabric is too great, the entire upheaval & overthrow of all the foundations of our Society too universal, not to affect every body & to place persons in an almost entirely new status.

It is blind fanaticism to say that only the aristocrats, as these wretched Jacobins term some of us south, have been affected. Slaves were property, by custom, by common law, by the Constitution, by twenty stipulations on the part of the United States Government, and at one blow two thousand millions of dollars have been annihilated. Now while as is the case with real estate, many rich people had an undue share, this species of Property was much more equally divided amongst the Whites, than is assumed by the Radicals, & a great many families in losing their Slave property lost their *all*. But the evil does not stop there. There is a destruction of labor which vastly diminishes the value of our lands. I assert the Freedmen's Bureau to be a failure, a costly one I fear. The great problem to be worked out, as I have constantly said since our subjugation, is the proper organization of Labor. We of the South accept our position with no vain regrets for the past, but a fixed determination to work out our own Salvation, if let alone. But we can't shut our eyes to the *fact* of our altered conditions & that we are beginning our new career under many oppressing circumstances. But I do not wish to be prolix on a subject of

¹ Then professor of obstetrics at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York City.

more importance to one situated as I am than it can be to any Northern man, who has realized the war only by the Newspapers. With us, War has been brought to our doorsills & our hearts.

I remember with great pleasure, and have often spoken of that most recherché dinner at the club where I had the honor to be your guest, with Mr. Foster, Mr Fearn, Dr. Van Buren¹ & others. . . .

To Miss Fannie Mims [Minis?]

Dear Fannie,

October 8, 1866.

Your letter postmarked Emmetsburg came duly to hand & this is the fourth time that I have sat down to answer it & I shall do so, however short my letter may be, as I know you are all anxious to learn authentically the state of health of our city. Since the 28 July we have had cholera on the outskirts of the city but, as heretofore, it has made no lodgment in our centre. A few cases have occurred in the middle of the City, but there has been but *one* death in any circle that one knows, viz, that of Mr. Benjamin Whitehead², who was my patient and the only one that I have lost from that disease this summer. The principal mortality has been amongst the Blacks; and the principal locality for the disease, The Lincoln or Freedmen's Bureau Hospital South East of the Savannah. Of those Whites who have been attacked almost everyone was down on or a little above the water level. My cook was attacked in my yard³ and had Ricewater discharges for two days, and a narrow escape from death. I do not yet believe in its contagion. I believe the poison floats in the atmosphere & that mere proximity to a sick person does not increase the danger of taking it. Stating this authoritatively I prevented a panic in my yard, & Ellen boldly nursed her as if she had been her slave, instead of being "*nobodys nigger but her own.*" Isaac, her husband, was permitted to devote his whole time to her, & her wine etc. was furnished from the house. I should like to have had one of the puritanical, hypocritical, self-satisfied Pharisees of Massa-

¹ Probably William H. Van Buren, professor of genito-urinary diseases in Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York City. He was one of the most active organizers, during the Civil War, of the U. S. Sanitary Commission.

² A Savannah merchant.

³ I. e. in the back-buildings.

chusetts to have looked on from any corner he might have selected for this espionage. Perhaps he might have induced some of the lying Radical Journals of his self-exalted State to have astonished the South, by telling the truth about the condition & treatment of the negro of the South.

In the beginning of the season there were a few scattered cases of Yellow Fever but they had no sequents. The season has been a good one, many refreshing showers and much electricity. I never had the slightest apprehension of its becoming epidemic. The course of the disease has been such as to confirm more fully my often written views as to this fever. Its spread here depends on the long continued heat of the weather & it originates in this place. I consider the season to have been a very healthy one. Whilst as usual I have had many cases, they have been very manageable & with very little fatality.

I have been this particular because I have heard that some exaggerated reports have been written from this city, & I know that there is a perfect panic all over the up country. Ellen & the children have been quite well & remain so. While my cook had the cholera, I had some premonitorys, but having been convinced in 1834 that this stage of disease is the curable one, and that when cholera is in the atmosphere generally an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, I soon checked it. Now I have had a good many cases of Diarrhea, have several times been called up in haste at night by persons scared almost to death; but poor Whitehead is the only case I have lost & I know authentically that he had been sick three days before I was called in to him. He was in a collapse on my second visit. I hope your Mother continues to improve & that Cecilia has recovered from her accident. Rebecca I believe has turned [?] India Rubber. How are my dear friends Dr. and Mrs. Hays?¹ Tell the Doctor I read and reread his admirable article on Cholera in the News² & used some of his old Thunder to strike the high vaulting ambition of some of our young medical men, who take their medical opinions from the last London Periodicals, as the chameleon his hues from the colour of the last branch on which he has basked. . . .

¹ Dr. and Mrs. Isaac Hays, of Philadelphia; the former was then president of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Mrs. Hays, née Sarah Minis, was a Savannah girl.

² The weekly *Medical News*, established by Dr. Hays, 1843.

To Miss M. W. Houston, Madison, Ga.

Dear Mary,

October 8, 1866.

Your two letters from Madison came duly to hand. Although there has been no unusual amount of sickness, you know I have always enough at this season of the year to keep me very busy. I attended to your request contained in your first. There were four quarters rent due and one re-entry, so I paid them all to save a second re-entry. Miss Welman told me she had written to relieve your mind of the apprehension excited by the absurd reports circulated in the up country about the health of Savannah. I have seldom known a healthier season. The Cholera with a very few exceptions has been confined to the Blacks, and the outskirts of the city, its principal habitat being the Freedmen's Bureau Hospital. I have lost but one patient, unfortunately *the only subject* of any social standing who has died, viz, Mr. Benjamin Whitehead. My cook Fanny had a severe attack & she may thank God that she was an independent Nigger "living in her own house." Prompt attention & Ellen's nursing saved her life. Yellow Fever died out with a few sporadic cases early in the season. The mortality is certainly great among the Blacks, but I am satisfied that belongs to their new status of being "nobody's niggers but their own."

A comparison of the mortuary records of the five years preceding the war & the five to follow will solve a problem in Sociology, in a way that will astonish the negrophilists who may be alive at the end of the last term.¹

¹ Dr. Arnold is entitled to some reputation as a prophet, in this connection. The actual "mortuary records" he refers to above, offer just such striking evidence of post-emancipation suffering among the negroes, as he predicted. The Savannah statistics, based upon interments, are as follows (the figures are only approximately correct, but would seem significant):

| YEAR | | 1855 | 1860 | 1863 | 1864 | 1865 | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 |
|---------------------------------------|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Percentage of Population Dying. | Whites | 3.20 | 2.53 | 2.09 | 3.26 | 5.01 | 2.12 | 1.82 | 1.83 | 1.50 |
| | Negroes | 3.07 | 2.32 | 2.83 | 3.13 | 5.54 | 5.96 | 3.75 | 3.55 | 2.54 |

The figures are taken from W. Duncan, *Tabulated Mortality Record of the City of Savannah*, Savannah, 1870, p. 36;—a work dedicated to Dr. Arnold. See also the latter's statements, as Chairman, in the *Report of the Committee of the Georgia Medical Society on the Hygienic Condition of the City of Savannah*, Savannah, 1866, p. 4.

To Dr. D. W. Hammond,¹ Macon, Ga.

My dear Sir,

Nov. 11, 1866.

Your letter of the 8th ult. came duly to hand. As your letter refers to so serious a matter as a change of your residence I shall reply in order, premising that of course you are well known to me personally as well as professionally, for I first met you at the organization of the State Medical Society in 1849, & your career as a medical man since in Macon, for you did not then reside there,² has been quite familiar to me. First, I doubt the practicability of forming a copartnership with any established Practitioner. The profession is crowded & the altered status of the negro has materially affected (& injuriously) the income of every Physician. If you come you must make up your mind, I think, to launch your own bark on the sea of experiment. Your well deserved reputation as a Lithotomist³ would benefit you but little here, unless your patients followed you, for calculus is a disease so rare that Dr. Waring told me (the old Dr.) that he had never known of a call in his experience, & but *two* have ever come to my knowledge in thirty six years practice. Your statement that you are considered to have the best pay practice in Macon is fully believed by me, from what I have always heard of you. Recollect, my dear Doctor, a Doctor is like a tree, the longer he has been in one locality the deeper his roots have struck. You forget or do not allude to the fact of my having met you in consultation in the call of my friend Col. De Graffinried, during the war, and of course as you were his family Physician I need no references. The Roberts,⁴ who are my patients, spoke often of you after their return from Macon.

It remains for me to give you, as you request, "a full & frank statement of the prospects."

First, living is exorbitantly high. You cannot get any decent board under fifteen dollars a week per head. Should you wish to

¹ Dudley W. Hammond, who received his M. D. at the Georgia Medical College (Augusta), 1830; a very successful general practitioner and surgeon.

² He was, in 1849, a practitioner in Culloden, Monroe County; and later sought Macon as a more central location. He never moved to Savannah.

³ He is reported to have performed twenty-three lithotomies, "under the old régime" (i. e. prior to the use of anæsthetics and antiseptic methods), all of which were successful.

⁴ Probably Hiram, and his son, J. A. Roberts, of the firm of Hiram Roberts and Son, merchants.

keep house, houses are very scarce & rent extortionate. This of course refers itself to your finances.

Second, all new comers must build themselves up by degrees, no odds how old in practice in other places.

Our profession is in excellent condition here. I have laboured, & I flatter myself not unsuccessfully, as President of the Georgia Medical Society (our Local Society) to elevate our ethical & professional Standard; & a man of your standing in the profession would command & receive every due attention.

Hoping & trusting that I have answered you frankly,
P. S.

I shall destroy your letter without exhibition to anyone, so if you wish to open the subject with anyone else you must open a new correspondence. This, as you will perceive, leaves the whole matter in your own hands.

To Chas. C. Jones, 61 Wall St. [New York]

My dear Jones,

May 1, 1867.

. . . I hope my delay in answering you has not been too long. I think I can give you some interesting information as regards the capture of the city,² & I can send you two pamphlets which will give you some information as regards the condition of our city after its capture. Do you know anything about the plate of the Georgia Historical Society, of Honorary Diplomas?

You and Ward³ were elected Honorary Members a year ago, & like Micawber I have been waiting for the Plate to turn up to send you your diplomas.

By the end of this week or the beginning of next I will write off what I have to say, as I am slowly but surely getting better. With kind regards to Ward,

¹ The Georgia historian.

² The account of the capture of Savannah, given in C. C. Jones, *History of Savannah, Ga.* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1890, p. 381, ff.) is quoted from Lee and Agnew, *Historical Record of Savannah*. It would not seem, then, that use was made of any material Dr. Arnold may have sent, as suggested above. The latter's letter books contain no account of his surrender of the city to Gen. Sherman.

³ John E. Ward removed to New York City after the War, to practice law there. He revisited the State at times, and on one occasion (1872) was admitted to the floor of the State Senate, in recognition of his past services.

To Fred W. Sparling, Esq. M. D. Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Sir,

Dec. 27, 1867.

Early in November Mr Wilbur showed me a letter from you to him in which you spoke of having written a letter to me about N. Y. Mutual Life Insurance Company. I told Mr. Wilbur to say to you that I never received that letter. Various circumstances have combined to prevent my sitting down to give you a full account of the dealings of that company with me, which I think were mean and contemptible. Of this you shall judge from the statement I am about to make to you, of which you are at liberty to make any use you please.

I am one of the oldest of the assured of that Company, my policy being No. 556, issued on the 31 day March, 1844. I was for years before the war the Medical Examiner & was consulted always by the Agent, Wm. P. Hunter, Esq., and I do not exaggerate too much when I say I prevented many losses.

I paid up in 1861. A meeting of the Policy holders in this City was held in May, I think, 1861, as to what was best to be done in view of the impending war. There was a large number present, for this company had the monopoly of Life Insurance in this [city]. The great question was as to selling out. For one I could easily have gone to N. Y. & have sold it, but some of our leading men in whose judgment I have confidence said that they could not suppose that any company would forfeit the Policies, even if war continued. Many, many others thought with me, & the N. Y. Mutual reaped eventually a rich harvest out of the Savannah Insurance in the way of forfeited stock Dividends & forfeited Policies. In 1862 I proffered payment of my premium to Mr. Hunter in gold, through a notary, & on his own refusing it, as he was no longer an Agent, I entered the usual protest against damages. I had no opportunity to proffer a payment until after the fall of the Confederacy. I addressed the President of the Company early in the spring of 1865 as to the payment of my back premiums & the reinstatement of my Policy, but the answer was evasive & unsatisfactory, In June 1865 I went to N. York and appeared in person to the office. What was the result? As a great favour, after submitting me to a first examination, they renewed my policy on my payment of all the back premiums, but they coolly deprived me of the Stock

dividends that had occurred for five years, because my premium had not been paid at the last settlement. . . .

To Dr. D. W. Hammond, Macon, Ga.

My dear Doctor,

Jan. 11, 1868.

. . . My address of last year embodies a history of our College,¹ that on the 8th the history of our Society.² Our College is doing better this year. We have twenty seven against ten last year, but it is up hill work. Ten thousand dollars could not repair the damage done us by the Federal troops.

To Mrs. Louisa McAllister, New York

Dear Mrs. McAllister,

Jan. 13, 1868.

. . . We are in a terrible state here, a military power in the midst of a profound calm & peace, upsets all civil government & substitutes its will for Law.³ History has never recorded a page of more wanton oppression exercised on a people than that now imposed on the South by the radical majority of Congress. I telegraphed you this morning. I send two Savannah Papers.

To Dr. Henry M. Fuller, Beaufort, S. C.

My dear Doctor,

March 28, 1868.

. . . I write thus fully for another reason. In these days of what I call Sanguiphobia the pendulum has swung clean to the other side. If we bled too much formerly, I firmly believe we bleed too little nowadays. We have certainly lapsed back into Brunonianism⁴ in its naked priority. But judging from my own experience, and certainly it would be mock modesty in me not to claim a very large one in Hospital and private practice, there is a decided change in the character of the diseases since I first

¹ The Savannah Medical College.

² The Georgia Medical Society (of Savannah). These addresses were given by Arnold, as the annual addresses of the president of this Society, and were printed in pamphlet form.

³ This is the period of so-called "Congressional Reconstruction."

⁴ An eighteenth century "system"; i. e. the principals of those who followed the precepts of Dr. John Brown. The general theory was that diseases are caused by either an excess, or a lack of vital energy; and hence indicate the extensive use, respectively, of narcotics or stimulants. This "system" did not encourage blood-letting.

began to practice thirty-eight years ago. I am glad to find from Aitkin's recent work,¹ that such high authorities as the late Dr. Alison² and Sir. Thomas Watson³ are of the same opinion, and I am content to abide by my own conclusion, and the result of my recent experience *whenever I have deemed* V. S.⁴ advisable, and leave Bennett and his followers (I would have added Todd, but he is dead) to congratulate themselves that our former bleeding was an entire mistake, and that their present stimulation is the result of higher information. I must tell you a pretty fair thing on one of my brethren here which occurred about twenty months since. Our Medical Society meets weekly. V. S. and local blood letting were the subjects to be discussed (as per programme). I advocated the views expressed above. The gentleman in question said he carried a lancet but it was solely to lance abscesses. About five days subsequently I was roused up a little before five A. M. with a call to visit him medically. I found Dr. Kollock⁵ in attendance on Dr. Harry [Harris?]⁶ (the gentleman in question). He had been so for nearly twenty four hours. Flax seed enemata, and calomel and morphine had been freely exhibited, and a very large Blister covered the whole abdomen. His condition was as follows. The abdomen was swollen, very tense, tympanic at every point, and very painful on the slightest pressure, his position was bolt upright, as the intense pain kept him from swinging backwards or forwards, and the bowels were constipated. The pulse was excited, hard, but not remarkably full. On retiring to consult I said to Kollock, "You know what you and I would have done with such a case thirty years ago," making the sign of V. S. "Yes," he replied, "but he is so opposed to Bleeding." "That is nothing to me," I rejoined. (I like to bullyrag a Doctor.) "Well, you must do it then." "Very well." Enter two doctors, Arnold loquitur. "Harry,

¹ Sir William Aitken, *The Science and Practice of Medicine*, from the fourth London ed. (1866), with additions by Meredith Clymer, Phila., 1866.

² William P. Alison (1790-1859), a British physician prominent in the sanitary reform movement of the forties and fifties. His *Outlines of Pathology and Practice of Medicine* was published at Edinburgh, 1844.

³ Watson's *Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Physic*, had gone through four American editions at this time, the last having appeared in Phila., 1858.

⁴ Venesection.

⁵ P. M. Kollock, a Savannah practitioner, professor of obstetrics in the Savannah Medical College.

⁶ Possibly Raymond B. Harris, an old student of Dr. Arnold's, who served in the Confederate Army Medical Dept., and returned to Savannah to practice after the War.

Kollock and I are of a unanimous opinion that you must be bled." I believe I had a slight twinkle in my eye. "Well," said he, and stretched his arm out. After the blood was stopped (I always bleed by Marshall Hall's rule) the patient being upright, he lay down for the first time since eleven of the preceding night. At one o'clock that day we repeated the V. S. His bowels had been opened between our two visits. I was almost certain this would follow, because I am convinced that the constipation of the bowels is dependent on a spasm of the muscular coat, and I had relieved just such cases as Harry's, over and over by the same means. Now let me state a fact. Some years ago, every spring presented this form of disease, for several springs in succession. I had not met with a case before Harry, for more than 10 years, and I have not seen one since. The truth is, we are led away and astray by names. Debility is relative. We must govern ourselves by the state of the Patient, which is determined by the state of his organs and tissues, and I shall maintain that Bronson¹ with all his ultraism was a genuine and efficient Medical Reformer. I know you are measureably out of Harness, but I hope I have not bored you with too much of the shop. As you wrote me you might yet be called to exercise our noble art in some case of emergency, I thought it would not be intrusive to give you some of my experience.

Although I have taken a part in local politics, as I think every educated man ought to do, my profession has ever been my guiding star. Although the classes of our Med. College are small, the labour of preparing lectures is just as great, if a man respects his own reputation and duty, as if the classes were large. I have just delivered my eleventh course on the Theory and Practice and July next will complete 38 years during which I have been connected with our Hospital, and to leave my *ego* behind, I wish no acknowledgement beyond your kind feelings, of the assistance rendered you, an assistance so slight that it derives its value sole from the circumstances by which we are all surrounded.

We in Savannah have every reason, badly off as we are and worse off as we are destined to be, to be profoundly thankful that we have escaped the overwhelming desolation which has overthrown the gentlemen of the Seaboard and their families.

¹ Henry Bronson, professor of therapeutics, Yale Medical School—?

It makes one skeptical of a Providence at times. I have always said and believed that one of the elements of the bitter hatred and vindictive malignity of the majority of the Northern people against the South was the superiority of our general Social state. In one word we were too feudal to suit codfish aristocracy, Petroleum wealth, or Shoddy Show.

I send you some Newspapers, not for the news, but because they contain some articles of mine, political and literary. You will see I am not an idle man. My present impression is that the Northern people will submit to anything, that the minority there is in as helpless a condition as we are, for all power is in the hands of the Radicals and will remain there for a year; and in the meantime the Constitution will have been driven to splinters and all Liberty destroyed, an irresponsible legislature having totally usurped and abrogated the two coördinate departments of the Executive and the Judiciary.

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens, Savannah

My dearest Daughter, Carlisle, Penn. May 10, 1868.

. . . Friday I devoted to calling at the Freedmen's Bureau about Armory Hall, but did not see General Howard.¹ Tell Mr. Mallon² that Mr. Robb had interested himself in the matter & that a General Sewell is to go to Savannah early in June to investigate matters. While I was talking with the clerk this General Sewell came in, & I had a piquant interview with him, the details of which I must leave until we meet. As I was going he said (being somewhat irritated I think by my cool politeness, & I flatter myself that I repeated the scene in my dining room with that fanatic chaplain):

"Well, Sir, I am a Yankee, a full blooded Yankee." "Well, Sir," I rejoined, "I have known a good many Yankees, and some were very good and some were damned bad," and then I made as graceful a bow as I could and left. . . . I called on the President but it was cabinet day. I saw Beckwith at his office & had a long & pleasant talk with him. . . .

¹ Gen. Oliver O. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau.

² B. Mallon, the Savannah teacher, at this time principal of the Girls' High School, and member of the Board of Education.

To John E. Ward, 61 Wall St. New York

Dear Ward,

June 19, 1868.

. . . The old Fogies of Trustees of the Chatham Academy¹ act like the dog in the manger, they will neither use their facilities for educational purposes nor allow our Board of Education, of which I am President,² to use them. Latterly some new Trustees, with more enlarged views have been elected & there is some prospect of a new State of Affairs. . . . Harden,³ Ned Anderson, and Dr. Kollock & Dr. Axson⁴ have been elected. I have been a standing candidate for thirty years but have always been shut out. Now I am induced to believe that in case of a vacancy I should stand a good chance of being elected. I have but one object in view. It has been my ardent desire for years to see the Chatham Academy used as a high school & thus have the System of Education fully supplemented, & let Savannah boast of a system of Free Schools which will be an honor to her & of incalculable value to her children

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens

My dearest Daughter,

Sept. 5, 1868.

. . . I wish I could live more in the present & not allow my thoughts to dwell so much on the future, but I suppose this comes from the depressed & altered circumstances in which we poor Southerners are placed. The plan that is now pursued by the Freedmen's Bureau is a total failure. Yet I meet constantly with details from Newspaper correspondence published in Northern Newspapers of a most flourishing and satisfactory State of affairs, to which they are indebted solely to their imaginations. Cuffey's crop this year is watermellons and green corn.

I see as yet no ray of light breaking in on our darkness. I occupy the same position and entertain the same views I did in the winter. Let us of the south accept our position as a fixed & unalterable fact, let us rebuild ourselves the best way we can; but at the same time let those into whose hands the power has

¹ A private Academy, established 1788, having some free students; the chief secondary school in the city until after the Civil War.

² The Savannah Board of Education, the first in the State, was incorporated in 1866. Dr. Arnold became the first president.

³ Edward J. Harden, Savannah attorney and man of letters; State Senator, 1847, Judge of Court of Common Pleas, 1845-'47.

⁴ Rev. I. S. K. Axson, then pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church.

been thrown by the arbitrament of war, organize Labor in a practical remunerative form, or we all at the South will sink hopelessly & irretrievably into an abyss of ruin & desolation. . . .

. . . I have never known the City healthier amongst the whites. The deaths amongst the Blacks are about 2 1/2 to one White. Formerly it was the reverse.¹ So far the abstract Philanthropy of the North has not benefited the Black race. Write me as soon as you can. Keep my darlings for me & believe me your affectionate Father.

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens

My dearest Daughter, Sept. 18, 1868.

I went to Blackshear² on Wednesday. I sent you a paper today containing an account of our convention. The Savannah train did not reach that place until 12 o'clock mid-day. The Delegates paid me the compliment of not organizing until the arrival of the Savannah train, as it had been determined that I should be elected President of the Convention, which you will have seen was done. I was very glad that I went. I did wish to make the personal acquaintance of many of the men in our District, as I am taking so active a part in our present campaign &, as you know, I am doing so because it is for self-preservation against the terrible vindictive and malignant tyranny now exercised over the Southern people by the Radical Party.³ We nominated as our Candidate for Congress a man of the highest character & standing.⁴ We adjourned at Sunset.

We had to wait until 12 midnight for the train for Savannah & the evening was rather tedious. So Frank & I sat on the Piazza taking a puff at our cigars, & listening to some stump speeches, which some ambitious orators were making to a mixed crowd of whites and blacks by the light of a pine fire, about fifty yards from us. . . .

¹ This is indicated in the tables of interments for the city, 1810-1847; see Jas. Bancroft, *Census of the City of Savannah*, Savannah, 1848, p. 54.

² In Pierce County, Georgia.

³ This was a critical year in the Georgia "reconstruction" period. During the preceding winter the State Convention, required by the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, had met under radical control at Atlanta. The constitution it adopted was ratified by popular vote; and a radical, R. B. Bullock, elected Governor, in April. Hence the fall election, for national offices, marked the first stage of conservative revolt against this radical regime.

⁴ Judge A. H. Hansell, of Thomas County, as candidate for Congress from the First Georgia District.

To A. N. Simpson Esq. Marietta

Dear Sir,

Oct. 8, 1868.

. . . Mr. Dentonhoffer also asked about the Julian [?] Place. I answered \$2600.00. As to the Kenesaw place, I almost gave up the idea of selling it. This shows how the South has been impoverished. A farm of one hundred acres ought to make a homestead for a hard working white agriculturist. The planting land there is valley land & certainly ought to be worth more than has been asked for it. I have to confess that I now see that Black Slave labor had its disadvantages. It did prevent the formation of that

“bold peasantry a country’s pride

Which once destroyed can never be supplied.”

so beautifully pointed out by Goldsmith, in his *Deserted Village*, which I have always classed in my mind as a poetical Essay on Political Economy.

The Marietta people or rather the Cobb County people decry their soil too much. A soil & climate, which can produce nearly all fruits which are cultivated, at once afford a means both of nutrition and profit. It is a soil capable of receiving & amalgamating & retaining fertilizers. When we of the South, taught by that grand Teacher & grand regulator of human action, Necessity, shall have learned to *farm*, all upper Georgia will acquire a new life. Dr. Stewart speaks (I saw him this summer) with enthusiasm about your climate. In the meantime, while waiting for this agricultural millenium, do try and sell the Kenesaw place. The Julian [?] I *will* hang on to. It is too cheap at \$2600.00. Not a cent less will I take.

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens

My dearest Daughter,

Oct. 16, 1868.

. . . Cosmopolitan, about whom you enquire, is the redoutable Dr. Waring (J. J.)¹ Poor Vallian is in the last stage of Consumption. You will recollect that he was in the Guards & used to correspond with poor George.

If Dr. J. J. Waring had not the hide of a Rhinoceros . . . he would have committed suicide before this. At the end of the

¹ Dr. J. J. Waring, son of Dr. William R. Waring. He had lived in the North (chiefly in Philadelphia and Washington) and abroad, since beginning his college training, c. 1846; and returned to Savannah only after the outbreak of the Civil War. These circumstances may in part explain the above letter.

month he was tried before the Society¹ on the charges preferred against him. Unfortunately, in my opinion, Dr. Thomas² had copied after a regular court martial, & preferred charges & Specifications, thus dividing & complicating the business. By a vote of 21 to 2, he was found guilty of the specification that his conduct was unworthy of a gentleman & had forfeited his Social standing. Yet when it came to a vote and to the penalty fourteen voted against expulsion and nine for expulsion, & then the Society determined to *censure* him. Oh lame & impotent conclusion. The meeting at which the trial took place was held at Willie Duncan's.³ After the Society had adjourned, many of us remaining socially, I openly declared that while I would not resign my membership & thus desert the Society, I was resolved not to participate in the present arrangement, & that I would not have a meeting of the Society at my house. I could not and would not attend one at any other member's house. . . . The nine decided to sustain me as regards to meetings at Private houses. So here was a big gap made in that schedule. Dr. Jas. B. Read⁴ had absented himself during the whole of the summer from our meetings, declaring openly that as long as Dr. Jas. J. Waring was a member of the Society, no meeting should take place at his House, nor would he attend at any other member's. He did attend at Dr. Duncan's house & I said to him, "long looked for, come last," when I first met him that evening; little dreaming of what his action was to be, and thinking that he had come to purge the Society of a man who had so openly attempted to subvert the very foundations of our Social State by raising the *Blacks* to an equality in all relations with the *White*. He it was who made the weak-kneed fall down, by proposing a vote of censure, instead of Expulsion. To cap the climax of his inconsistency, the next meeting of the Society was held at his house, & Dr. Waring, Yes, Dr. Waring, was there. . . . I have gone into detail because everybody is full of the matter. Never

¹ The Georgia Medical Society.

² Dr. J. G. Thomas, a Savannah practitioner.

³ Dr. William Duncan, graduated the Savannah Medical College, 1861; became Demonstrator of Anatomy therein in 1867; eventually a leader of the profession in the city.

⁴ Professor of Materia Medica, and Dean of the Faculty, of the Savannah Medical College.

was any White man, whose birth & education entitled him to a high standing fallen so low, nor so universally condemned.¹ . . .

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens, St. Catherine, Canada

My dearest Daughter,

Nov. 2, 1868.

We are all on the qui vive for tomorrow's election. It is a grand struggle for constitutional Liberty. If it go against us God alone [knows] what is in store for us. We are powerless to resist & there is no magnanimity in our foes, nothing but fiendish malignancy & a thirst for vengeance on a prostrated enemy.

I have bet fifty dollars on New York for Seymore. If Seymore is beaten there, then indeed is the last ray of Hope for Liberty put out. Freedom shrieked when [Kosciusko?] fell. I am afraid if the Radicals beat us tomorrow, we will turn tail & run. But, as the giant said in the cave of Mambium [?], Patience and shuffle the cards.

To Mrs. W. C. Cosens, St. Catherine, Canada

My dearest Daughter,

Nov. 7, 1868.

Ere this the newspapers regularly sent you will have given you all the details of the exciting & sad events of the last few days & have relieved you of any anxiety about myself personally. The News gives a perfectly trustworthy account of the matters that day and night. The excitement, after the news of the murder of poor Law,² showed itself by a death like stillness in the streets, the sullen tramp of the White man, and the total absence of the Black man.

But the fear of the torch, so often invoked by Radical orators White and Black, was upon us, & we kept watch all night, & a fire would have been the funeral Pyre of any radical Scoundrel who might have kindled it.

I was not at the Court House when the Riot occurred.³ I was in bed. The truth is I have led a very exciting life for the last

¹ Charles C. Jones, Jr. (or one of his co-authors), observes of Dr. J. J. Waring that "... no man held more of the confidence of Savannahians than did he," (*History of Savannah*, Syracuse, N. Y., 1890, p. 444).

² Samuel S. Law, son of Judge William Law, was murdered by a group of negroes marching into town on election day, Nov. 3; when he and several other whites met them on the outskirts, to forbid them entrance.

³ A serious riot took place about 8 A. M., on election day, Nov. 3, (the polls opened at 6 A. M.), in the Court House and the adjacent square. A number of both races were injured, and several negroes killed. The local papers ascribed it

few weeks. My duties as Chairman of the Executive Committee¹ kept me engaged every night for at least two weeks before the election. I met men, consulted with them, had to drink with them & sit up late. I am proud to say that our organization was capital, & still prouder to say that on all sides I have credit for being very instrumental in it. Capt. W. Wray² said to me at noon on the day of election, "If the people (whites, of course) were voting for Mayor today, they would put you in by acclamation." After the Polls were closed, some fellows with more zeal than judgement wanted to repeat the shoulder scene of last Spring; but it was dark, I was on the ground & I spoke so decidedly that they let me go. I hit them by telling them I would sooner be in their hearts than on their shoulders.

To Dr. B. A. Clements, New Orleans

My dear Doctor,

July 24, 1869.

Fifty times have I looked up to my shelf & said: "Well, it is time to send my pamphlets on to Dr. Clements," & fifty times have I failed to do so. I have been to New York since I saw you, & there were several vessels at Quarantine there with Yellow Fever on Board. So after all this scourge of humanity will, I am afraid, always combine to be an interesting subject for the Physicians of the Southern portion of our Country. Yellow Fever has been prevailing to a greater or less extent along the Gulf coast & amongst the West India Islands since May. I do not believe in its contagion or its importation by persons; but if the germs, for they must be material, exist for a long time in the Gulf or among the Islands, they may float on the atmosphere over the Gulf Stream & by favoring winds be blown into our Atlantic cities; there to propagate if the season is favorable, that is if it be very hot & very dry.³ Or, if we have very hot

to negro "radicals" crowding the Court House, where the polls were located, and refusing to allow whites to vote. The negroes attacked white police, when the latter tried to clear the way for voters.

¹ Of the Chatham County Democratic party.

² William Wray, who acted as chief of detectives of the city police, 1864-'72. He was presumably appointed by Arnold.

³ This is the first reference, in the letter books, to "germs" as a cause of disease. (Five years before, Davaine had achieved, at Paris, what would today be considered the first definite proof of the "germ theory"—in the case of the

weather long continued, as we had in 1854, without any electricity, (for there was not a thunderstorm from the beginning of June out), the germ of the disease will germinate in any city as low down as Charleston, Savh., or N. Orleans. In 1862 when we were blockaded completely I lost eight cases of Blackvomit or genuine Yellow Jack. . . .

To Messrs Beals, Greene & Co. of the Boston Post

Dear Sirs,

Dec. 29, 1869

By reference to your ledger you will find that my paid subscription to your valued paper ended on or about the seventh of September last.

Procrastination, simply, has prevented me from sending on my payment for the current year.

Enclosed please receive Post Order no. 10172, for which give me due credit for ten dollars, which will be up to September ensuing.

Permit me as an oppressed Southerner, to return you my individual thanks for your able & generous vindication of the South in your whole writings.

Allow me to say that when Senator Edmunds¹ asserted in his place in the senate that Georgia was a perfect hell, that he simply *lied*, & that it is by no means hot enough for so malignant a devil as he is. Christmas day was one of great religious revival here. Many who despaired of an interfering Providence for the oppressed began to believe that his almighty hand had been stretched forth, when the Telegraph announced that Stanton² had been snatched up "to heaven or to hell," for in either case the South has got rid of him.

To Rev. Father Hamilton, Vicar General of the Diocese of Ga.

Reverend Sir,

Feb. 28, 1870.

The Board of Education at their meeting in January unanimously passed the following resolution: "Resolved that the President of this Board is hereby instructed to address a common-anthrax bacillus). It will be noticed above, that Dr. Arnold reconciles the theory with his own views on the local, spontaneous origins of the disease.

¹ George F. Edmunds, Senator from Vermont, 1866-1891; a "radical" leader, prominent in the passage of Reconstruction Acts and the impeachment of Johnson.

² E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln and Johnson.

munication to Father Hamilton, Vicar General of the Diocese, making inquiries in reference to the extension of our Public School System in this city, in accordance with the recent action of the City Council upon the School question, and also inviting his co-operation in the same."

My constant occupation at the Medical College has caused me to procrastinate in forwarding the above to you.

The Board is very anxious to extend the benefits of Education to all who need them.

We respectfully invite from you some suggestions which we hope may be the means of settling the differences which exist between us and your pastoral charge.¹

To Dr. Meredith Clymer, 135 Lexington Ave. [New York City]

My dear Clymer,

July 3, 1870.

. . . The old Faculty of the Savannah Medical College have resigned. Three of the old faculty have gone into the new organization. I declined accepting the Emeritus Professorship of Practice; as while I wish it [the College] well, I do not desire to pledge myself in such a way for it as I would were I to allow my name to appear in that position. I resigned avowedly & openly from the inefficiency & laziness of our Professor of Anatomy.² There are some of the new Faculty with whom I would not care to be associated. Six of the old Faculty own the entire building and apparatus. We built it as the Savannah Medical Institute under an act of incorporation. Having built the building & furnished the apparatus, the Trustees of the Sav. Medical College, who had a charter & nothing else, elected the Faculty in 1853, & of course chose the owners of the building; with opposition of course from some of our medical Brothers, but we had the inside track, having planked down in 1858, nearly 3700 dollars.³ In that year, I did a little lobbying, as Augusta & Atlanta Colleges were knocking at the door of the state Treas-

¹ The Roman Catholic authorities in Savannah had unsuccessfully petitioned Council to be relieved of taxes for the public schools; or for official representation on the Board of Education. These conditions having been refused, they objected to sending Catholic children to the public schools.

² Unidentified.

³ This arrangement between the old group, who had a charter, and the new group, who had a building, was facilitated by making Dr. Arnold (of the latter group) president of the board of the charter society.

ury, which in those good old Democratic days was full, & I joined giblets, as Bennett says, & the State gave the Trustees 15,000 dollars. They gave it to the Institute, & we purchased additional apparatus to the amount of nearly \$2,000; and appropriated the remainder to paying off encumbrances, & setting the Property entirely free. I have, however, been working in vain as to building up the college. We have never recuperated from the war. Our young men of the rural districts, who were our pabulum, have been too restricted in their means. We had a very fine museum & apparatus, estimated at about \$10,000. It was destroyed, with a few exceptions, say \$1500 worth at the maximum. Don't you think this was the pursuit of knowledge under difficulty?

I have this consolation. Although my classes were small, I had always a few intelligent fellows amongst them before whom my pride would not permit me to stumble, & I became much more of a student than I would have been without such a stimulus.

After having resigned, the six owners being desirous of knowing what valuation to put on the property, employed the City assessors to appraise the Property. They did so, valuing it at \$30,000, should it be continued for educational purposes;¹ and at \$21,000, should it be sold to be cut up into dwelling Houses, as the latter would involve of course the expenditure of much money. Two of the present faculty own, respectively, a seventh and one quarter of the 7th (four of us having bought out the estate of Dr. West² in 1860). The remainder of the new aspirants for Professional Honors could not raise any money. So we agreed to let them have everything for one year, on their paying the Insurance of the building. In the meantime we have offered [it] to the City for \$14,000, provided it shall be kept exclusively for a Medical College. The idea is for the City to buy and transfer to the Trustees for the purpose of Medical education. I know the College has had a good effect on our isolated Fraternity and I would wish to see it prosper. The Faculty owning the College buildings hampered them and the Trustees. The majority of us were fools enough to let a Jackass buy in and, once in, he was like the old man of the sea on Sin-

¹ The building cost originally c. \$19,000.

² C. W. West, who was dean of the original faculty.

bad's shoulders,—the only way to get rid of him was to dissolve ourselves.

My freedom from professional engagements will, I hope, enable me to do a thing I have for years wished to do but could not on account of my professional duties here; viz. to visit New York and Philadelphia in Oct. and Nov., when the lectures first commence, and devote myself to an entirely medical tour.

So I shall live in hopes of seeing you in the flesh in October, gaining as I always have, new knowledge, and a fresh impetus in what after all its toils, turmoils, and troubles, is really the most philanthropic of all callings, and far ahead of the miscegenated Theology of the day.

To William C. Cosens, Savannah

N. Y., 6 West 22nd St.

Dear Mr. Cosens,

March 31, 1871.

. . . I really begin to think better of Oliver Wendell Holme's remark to me in 1860, at Boston, that a reputation for taste of judgment in old Wines was analagous to one as to Old Pictures.

. . .

Dr. Nott¹ called & asked me to dinner for Wednesday next. Thursday was a cold, rainy day. I got back at 4 1/2 o'clock. I stepped over to Broadway to buy some papers. On my return I saw a Cab before the door. The rain was coming down fast. Archy opened the door for me & exclaimed as he did so, "Why I have been looking all over the house for you. Dr. Barker² is in the parlor waiting for you." The Doctor had received the first knowledge of my being here from Dr. Nott's note of invitation to dine with him on Wednesday next. He went off instantly to obtain my address, & there he was before me. He shook me cordially by the hand & spoke warmly, & I certainly was highly gratified by such manifestations of friendship from a man of his standing.

He had called to ask me to dinner today. He was going to entertain Bret Harte,³ & he had a seat left which had been

¹ Probably Dr. Josiah C. Nott, originally of Charleston and Mobile, who moved to New York City in 1868. He became a prominent gynecologist there.

² Benjamin Fordyce Barker; professor of obstetrics at Bellevue Hospital Medical College; he possessed unusually wide social contacts with the life of New York City.

³ Francis Bret Harte, of literary fame.

vacated by Col. Clarence Seward¹ having been called off to Boston on professional business.

To the Doctor's hospitable board I am bound for today. I will finish my letter tomorrow.

April 1st. Saturday morning.

Punctually at 6 1/2 P. M. I drove up to the door as did a gentleman, Mr. Buckley, a very distinguished Lawyer. In the drawing room I found Mrs. Barker & Mrs. General Jones,² a Lady of the first water & sparkling with Diamonds, ditto. She is the Leader of the Haut Ton, immensely wealthy, & the widow of General Jones, who was the Brother of the late Mrs. Pendleton (this I learned this morning) the only person in N. Y. who has the Benson Madeira (this from Dr. Barker across the table) of 1809, the mother of married children, a very *Handsome* woman.³ Next came Mr. Bret Harte, a medium sized man, not stout, with Black hair & full whiskers, not striking at first sight, but in a further observation you read him as a very quiet but intellectual looking man. Then came Judge Brady, well known to fame.⁴ Him I found to be entertaining & humorous, keeping the table in a roar, when he imitated a Dutchman or an Irishman in his stories. Next Dr. Austin Flint, Junior, who although a young man, has established a European reputation as the rising Physiologist of the day.⁵ His social qualities prove that it is not only the fools who relish the good things of this World. You recollect the classical story.

Next walked Col. Hay, formerly Lincoln's Secretary, charged to Austria,⁶ etc. etc. A young man, dressed in the top of fashion, white cravat, white gloves & his hat in his hand. But he is a finished gentleman and evidently a man of Culture & high intellect. Our host is as distinguished in the social Circles as he

¹ An attorney, nephew of William H. Seward, Lincoln's secretary of state.

² Possibly the widow of Gen. John Marshall Jones; an officer in the U. S. Army until 1861; lieutenant-general in Longstreet's Corps, C. S. A., killed at Spottsylvania, Va., 1864.

³ There seems some uncertainty here, whether Mrs. Jones or Mrs. Pendleton was the "very *Handsome* woman."

⁴ John R. Brady, Judge of New York City Court of Common Pleas; later of the New York Supreme Court bench.

⁵ A distinguished physiologist; one of the founders of the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, 1861, and at this time professor of physiology therein. His work was well known to readers of the French and British medical periodicals, as well as to Americans.

⁶ John Hay, Secretary of State during McKinley's and Roosevelt's administrations.

is in the Literary. Mrs. Barker is a Lady. Dr. Barker soon completed the list. So much for the Company, which you can see was of good material. At the table, Mr. Hart sat at the right & Judge Brady at the left of Dr. Barker. The seats were assigned by the names of the guests being written on monogrammed cards. The napkins were also monogrammed in Pink. On the centre of the table was a splendid Epergne, the gift of a grateful Patient, Edwin Booth¹ to his physician. A beautiful bouquet of flowers adorned the top, & fruit & flowers the plates or stands under the top piece. I prefer the style of my Epergne. The fruit and flowers obscure the person who sits in the line of vision against you. I lost sight of Judge Brady's face while he was telling his humorous stories & it was like listening to a man talking behind a screen. The dinner was *recherché*, of the usual courses. The Doctor always, he told me, selected Johannesburger to be drunk with his Ice cream. *Chacun à son goût*, I took care not to obtrude mine. Among the Wines came a perfect Madeira. I was especially challenged for my opinion, our host politely citing me as a Judge and Drinker of the article. The wine was not candle bright but that could not impair its delicious flavour. The wine was not appreciated or rather not relished except by Dr. Barker, Dr. Flint, and myself, for the remainder of the party dropped after the first glass.

Mr. Buckley is quite a conversationalist. Mr. Harte is also pleasant & colloquial. Col. Hay showed himself a polished travelled gentleman. Conversation was general, but my rôle was to be more of a listener than a talker.

At half past ten we broke up and thus I added another pleasant gastronomical experience to my list.

Let not gastronomy be underrated.

It certainly has returned me a hundred fold. My time is entirely mapped out until next Thursday & I will not be able to see all my friends. I do not think I will go home next Thursday. I can take the Murray & Ferris Steamer the Tuesday following. I have seen nothing of New York. If I am to dine with Mrs. Pond or Ward or Clymer I must stay, for my engagements do not include them. So at present with love to all. . . .

¹ The American tragedian.

To Dr. E. S. Gaillard,¹ Louisville, Kentucky

My dear Doctor,

July 3, 1871.

Enclosed please find P. O. 18137, being the amount of subscription to your journal² from 1st. inst. for one year in advance.

I cordially endorse the tone and conduct of your Journal and I think it ought to be supported as an exponent of the Southern Medical Mind. But my dear Doctor, you must acknowledge that we move in a provincial circle, not because we are Southerners, but simply because we are outsiders of the great Central body. Is not Philadelphia paling before New York? What one of us takes a Boston Journal, high in intellect and medical culture as Boston is? Still New England Men ought to, and do, support Boston Journals. No prominent Journal to my knowledge is published elsewhere in New England. Let us then support our sectional (if I may use the word) Journals, let us contribute our experience of diseases peculiar to climate and Locality (to which latter I attribute great importance). But let us reap the benefits of a recorded experience in large cities, which experience can be acquired only in such extended spheres. Compare our large cities with the field of observation in Europe and they dwindle into comparative insignificance. Where in this country, in this once Grand United Republic, where, I say, could such opportunities for observations in Embryology be afforded as have been in Germany?

Admirable for condensation and for lucidity as are the researches of my learned friend Dr. Meredith Clymer in the diseases of the Nervous System, is he not obliged to base his instructive lectures on results obtained from post mortem examinations made in the Hospitals of Europe? What is the difficulty? I reply the prejudice against *practical anatomy*, which is greater in new and sparsely settled countries in a direct ratio to that sparseness. Let us then carry out carefully clinical observation (never to be cheapened by comparison with any other mode of observation.)

¹ General Inspector of Confederate Hospitals, 1863-'65, (in which capacity he may have met Arnold at the Savannah Hospital); at this time professor of pathology in the Kentucky School of Medicine, at Louisville.

² The *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*, which Gaillard founded in 1866.

I go tomorrow to Macon to attend a convention of Physicians to be held on the 5th, in relation to the recent hunkermongering of the Atlanta Medical College¹ at the recent meeting of the Georgia Medical Association in April last, as the Atlanta school has in point assailed the Savannah Medical College. I may hereafter buy a place in your Journal for a statement of facts; which will go far to prove, if sustained, that the Atlanta Medical College is and has been in our State the greatest Enemy to a liberal Education of Medical Candidates which has ever existed within its limits.

If you can make any use (by elimination) of what I have written you, you are at liberty to do so.

To William C. Cosens, Toronto

Dear Mr. Cosens,

Aug. 29, 1871.

. . . Georgia and Primus have had quite a tiff in relation to Primus' too rigid guardianship of a ham. I think Georgia was over sensitive and, in reply to her question, told her she was authorized to take any edible in the house for Georgia or the Stewarts at any time, but that of course it was Primus' duty to take care of everything in the house. I should not be surprised if there should be a split hereafter. Well, so be it! Seven years of freedom have by no means developed any improvement in the negro. With all deference to the Negro-philists, I would compare the negro, in freedom and in domestic servitude, to the Wild untamed elephant of Africa & the serviceable elephant of Asia. Discipline, training, and method have made the latter a useful animal, the former is of no use except for his Ivory. . . .

To Messrs. D. Appleton & Co.

Dear Sirs,

Sept. 28, 1871.

I beg your indulgence and pardon for my delay in acknowledging the receipt of your acceptable present of Darwin's Descent of Man.

In the turmoil of life, so much out of doors as a Physician generally is, I acknowledge myself a very unpunctual correspondent.

¹ This College, established 1854, began at once to give the M. D. degree after the completion of a "summer session"; which seems to have been one of Dr. Arnold's chief reasons for condemning it. Reorganized after the Civil War, it became the most prosperous of the Georgia medical schools. By 1896, it had extended the time required for taking the degree to three years.

The volumes of Mr. Darwin came in the nick of time. They are so much in request at the Library of the Georgia Historical Society, & I have so little leisure to watch for them, that so far, I have not had an opportunity to read them; and as his works are to be studied, not merely read, I had determined to obtain a copy for myself. Your present has filled up the vacancy on my shelves & I am much obliged to you for your kindness. . . .

To Dr. Meredith Clymer, 4 East 29th St. N. Y.

My dear Clymer,

October 11, 1871.

. . . This summer has been a remarkably healthy one with us. This corroborates my experience, that a very wet season is a healthy one. Why? Because the excessive heat is tempered down and you get rid of the great factor of malaria and Yellow Fever germs.

Let a season be rainy until the end of July, then let the rays of the August sun pour down on the moistened earth and the decaying vegetation, and you will certainly see a sickly time for malarial, or what I prefer to call them, Paludal¹ fevers. (I said this years ago in my lectures).

There was a great panic here on the occurrence of Yellow Fever in Charleston. Since our devastating epidemic of 1854, the people at large have turned fools as to the contagion of yellow fever, and I have no desire of stemming the popular torrent. I began to appreciate the good sense of the Old Churchman "Si populus vult decipi-Decipiat." Asses that believe in the tidal wave and the honesty of Ulysses Grant ought to be left to chew their thistle unmolested by argument. My friend the mayor, Col. John Screven, sent for me to advise with, on the first official notification of the appearance of the disease in Charleston. The old women in breeches were frantic and shrieking for stopping the cars between this city and Charleston. I told him that even I, with my positive convictions as to the non-transmissibility of the disease by person or luggage, if acting Mayor, would feel myself compelled to yield to such universal prejudice. But, I said, the best quarantine is Hygiene. Acting on this hint, he took measures to make Savannah as clean a

¹ Pertaining to marshes.

city as can be found anywhere. Privately I expressed my opinions freely, so as to allay Panic. I began the study of medicine in 1826, just six years after our noted Epidemic of 1820. My Preceptor was Dr. Wm. R. Waring, who had been through the whole Epidemic.

At that time you could not have found a solitary Doctor in Savannah who would not have hooted at the idea of contagion. Yellow Fever appeared here in 1827. There had not been a vessel of any kind in Port for several months. This was before the days of Rail Roads and Steamers. Cotton was transported by river. Rivers dried up in the summer. Hence business was suspended entirely from the middle of July up to the beginning of October. No chance for any long, low decked schooner to bring the disease from the West Indies, hidden under peel of a banana or an orange, or lurking in the refreshing juice of a lime as one skillfully mixed it with the grateful Santa Cruz.

No one ever then doubted its local origin. Now I have frequently said, that Physicians should confine themselves to their own localities and give testimony as to what they themselves have observed. Forty-four years have elapsed since that period. I say positively that in no instance has the Yellow Fever been of imported origin. I have reported in former times in the Journals, many cases where isolated cases have arrived from abroad and died here without any spread of disease. I have seen three epidemics of Yellow Fever in Savannah, in 1827, 1854, 1858. In intercurrent years I have seen Yellow fever, but not prevalent enough to be considered Epidemic. During the war, in 1862, when Savannah was closely blockaded, I lost *eight* cases of Black Vomit, genuine Yellow Fever, with the boxwood colored Liver.

In 1854, thousands left our plague stricken city carrying carpet bags, bandboxes, trunks, etc., etc. Many died after leaving, from the disease contracted in the city, scores had the genuine disease when away, yet never has there been known a solitary instance of propagation of the disease outside the limits of the City.¹ Just after the Epidemic of 1854, I challenged the proofs of any such transmission of the disease.

¹ Refugees fled by thousands, in 1854, chiefly to Augusta and Macon by rail, and to Philadelphia, by sea. Two steamers alone brought seven hundred to Philadelphia at one time, fleeing yellow fever in Savannah and Charleston. They were detained at the city quarantine station, where many were seized

Yellow fever is no more contagious than intermittent paludal fever,¹ the germs of each are of telluric origin; e. g. Hutchinson Island, which you will recollect as immediately opposite to the city is absolutely uninhabitable for the white race during the summer. After passing a hundred or so of yards, our high bluff is reached with its protecting row of high Brick Stores, and Savannah, except on its very extreme suburbs, is almost entirely free from Paludal fever. Congestive (and most malignant forms of periodical fever) may be contracted in Hutchinson Island, but cannot be propagated in the City. Yellow Fever is strictly a city disease (not necessary for the city to be large); the disease contracted in the city has never in these parts been known to have been propagated in the country. Where, then, is the ground for the contagionist to stand upon? The long exemption of our Southern cities from epidemic Yellow fever in recent years had caused it to be but little thought about.²

We know that it heretofore has prevailed in a regular cycle of years.

The causation of the disease is an intricate subject not susceptible of a very satisfactory solution.

I combat the contagiousness of Yellow fever because I do not believe in it and because the unfounded belief in it creates undue panic, needlessly obstructs commerce, interrupts all communication between sister cities, and cuts short the ordinary charities of social life. If a man has a fearful disease which exposes all who approach him to a similar contamination, will not the majority of mankind leave him to his fate?

I hope you will tolerate this rather long letter. Fever has been a subject of great excitement here. We have not had a solitary case or one approaching it in type, yet some persons have been constantly coming hither from Charleston. In 1838 & 1839 Yellow Fever prevailed extensively in Charleston & in

with the fever, and forty died. Yet not a single Philadelphian at the station contracted the disease. (See report of W. L. Bladen, Sec. of the Phila. Bd. of Health, in *Proceedings of the Third National Quarantine and Sanitary Convention*, N. Y., 1859, pp. 172, 173). The evidence in the case of Augusta is not so clear.

¹ I. e., malaria.

² Later epidemics did occur; a serious one developed in Savannah about the time of Dr. Arnold's death, 1876. Despite the statement above, that yellow fever was "little thought about," Dr. William Duncan reported in the same year, that "Dr. Arnold declares that cholera and yellow fever have become endemic in Savannah." Duncan added that "the profession generally doubt the validity of the assertion." (See H. I. Bowditch, *Hygiene in America*, p. 96).

1839 in Augusta, Geo. The intercourse between those cities and this was free, and in those days no panic was created. But now official pickings follow contagious panics. I am sick of the rascality of the world. . . .

To the Editor of the World, 35 Park Place, N. Y.

June 25, 1872.

Sir, enclosed please receive Post Office order No. 23443, on N. Y., payable to the World, 35 Park Place, for six dollars; for which please send me the daily World for six months from 1st, July proximo. I subscribe to the same weekly & my subscription must be nearly out. I wish to keep well advised during the ensuing campaign & your paper suits me in every particular.

The mass of the People in Georgia are violently opposed to Greeley. We old Democrats laugh to scorn the pretensions of that weathered Ben Hill¹ to speak for us or to advise us. He is a self-acting gas-bag, always inflating himself for his own grandeur. H. W. Hilliard is a broken down ex-Methodist Parson & ex-Alabama Congressman,² with about as much right to speak for Georgia as I have to represent the Cham of Tartary. Yet I fear the manoeuvring Politicians have sold the Democratic Party. I expect to follow it to the grave next fall. I will make a prediction. The rank & file of the Democracy, will in the event of Greeley's nomination, fail to vote for him in mass & Grant will have a certain victory.³

To Charles C. Jones, 59 & 61 Wall St., N. Y.

My dear Jones,

June 27, 1872.

It is a long time since any direct communication has passed between us, but that does not imply any forgetfulness on my part, nor do I expect any on your part, of our always warm relations to each other.

Reading Vanity Fair, few days since, I felt that I could not sympathize with its cynical author in his more than once re-

¹ Benjamin H. Hill, Confederate Senator from Georgia, and one of the leaders of the Democratic party after the War. At this period, he had ceased his bitter opposition to the Reconstruction Acts; and was advising their acceptance as accomplished facts, and fusion with the liberal Republicans in the campaign of '72,—the so-called "New Departure" program.

² Prominent Whig congressman before the War, practiced law in Augusta and Atlanta after '65, supported Greeley in '72, U. S. Minister to Brazil, 1877-'81.

³ Georgia was one of the six states that cast their votes for Greeley.

peated observation about reading letters ten years old, from ci-devant friends. Either I have been fortunate or my knowledge of human nature has stood me in good stead. Death the executioner of Time, has indeed left many a blank, but I am thankful in my declining years¹ that so many are left, endeared to me by kindly recollections & associations.

My health has been very bad this spring, but don't be alarmed. I have not reached Piety Point, where with a comprehensive confession of Faith, modified by early education, the worn out Sinner, ostentatiously devotes the dregs of his life to the service of an Omnipotent God, of whom he seldom thought until the near approach of Death reminded him that he would soon be brought before the Bar.

I have always had a great contempt for Death Bed repentance, because every thinking man has his safe time to study out the great perhaps. The fact is, Gout has invaded me since early Spring and is constantly renewing his attacks until he has reduced the Citadel to cold water rations, at which point he proposes to accept a capitulation. . . .

To John Screven,² Atlanta, Geo.

Dear John,

Aug. 12, 1872.

I am sorry to hear of your physical sufferings and have no doubt of its being the result of the long continued and severe strain upon your mental faculties. Under all circumstances your post of duty and of efficiency for good was at Atlanta.

I have watched with interest and anxiety the progress of our bill in the two houses, as given in our papers. I really cannot comprehend the animus which seems to pervade the breasts of some of the opponents of our Road.³ To me there seems to be a single question, shall the State by additional aid secure the investment already made, or by refusing aid, sacrifice that investment, and with that the interest of Savannah as a muni-

¹ Dr. Arnold was at this time sixty-four years old.

² Son of Dr. James P. Screven; succeeded his father as president of the Atlantic and Gulf railroad, 1859; and retained this office until 1880; several times mayor of Savannah, 1869-1873.

³ The Atlantic and Gulf railroad, successor to the Savannah, Albany and Gulf railroad; these two corporations being consolidated in 1863. In 1880 it was taken over by the Savannah, Florida, and Western, or "Plant System." Dr. Arnold was one of the organizers of the original road, in 1853, and was apparently still interested in it in '72.

ciality and all the private stockholders.¹ I am not competent to judge whether there is any constitutional objection to extending aid to the road beyond the limits of the State,² but as the State already owns a part of a Rail Road track outside of her limits——Yesterday I was favored with a visit from Mr. Haines³ [?] and Mr. Owens.⁴ Mr. Owens' information was highly interesting, and made me appreciate more thoroughly the great difficulties under which you have laboured. As to the objection of this being a bad time to bring forward such an application for aid, it falls to the ground when we consider that the postponement of it would have inevitably been the ruin of the whole road as a renumerating investment, and that it is much better to know its fate at once. . . .

Until I shall have seen you I shall be unable to judge of the real value of the bill as amended. An appeal must be made any how to the private stockholders to come forward and aid the enterprise.

Any how, you and your coadjutors have done well in obtaining what you have from the Legislature. I heard that James Jackson⁵ said that if the bill passes, it could be paralleled only by the Yazoo fraud. If he said so, he has merely proven his malignant feelings toward Savannah and his ignorance of the history of his native State. Whence Mr. Trammell's⁶ [?] fierce antipathy, and why does Judge Reese⁷ lose his amiability? Perhaps these questions may be answered hereafter.

At present I suppose we had better pass them on in good temper; trusting that time will convince them that they made

¹ The city of Savannah subscribed two hundred thousand dollars to the Atlantic and Gulf, the State subscribed about one million dollars. Savannah citizens had subscribed about one million to the original road, the Savannah, Albany, and Gulf. These were the interests to which Dr. Arnold refers above.

² The road had been built across southern Georgia to Bainbridge, on the Flint river, by 1872. The road had not prospered, and it was hoped to save it by extending it into Alabama, in order to connect with Mobile and New Orleans. State aid was being asked at this time for such extension, but was being opposed by lobbies of the Georgia Central, which enjoyed no State support. State Commissioners appointed in '72, to look after the State's investment, reported in favor of carrying out the plan to extend to Pollard, Ala.

³ Probably Geo. S. Haines, Savannah alderman, 1887-'94.

⁴ Probably Wm. W. Owens, alderman, 1897-'99.

⁵ Democratic politician, Georgia congressman in the years immediately preceding the War.

⁶ Leander N. Trammell, President of the State Senate, later Chairman of the State Railroad Commission.

⁷ W. M. Reese, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, in the Legislature of this year.

an error, as to the interests of the State, in their opposition to extending her aid to the Atlantic and Gulf R. Road, when she is so large a stockholder.

I believe the report of the State Commissioners had much to do with enlightening the public as to the vast importance of extending the Road to Mobile. . . .

I wish I could have visited the Capital during the Session of the Legislature. I should like to make the acquaintance of some of our active men who have come on the stage since I left it.

Tell Julian Hartridge¹ that, as I was Chairman of the Board of Commissioners who obtained the building of the present State Lunatic Asylum, to insinuate to the Governor² that I might have a special interest in investigating the mode in which the affairs are conducted in that Institution.

To Dr. Samuel W. Francis, Lennoxville [?], Canada, East

Dear Sir,

Aug. 24, 1872.

. . . Your extract relative to the Bishops College School came enclosed. However desirable in other respects, and I greatly prefer the English mode of Instruction to ours, the great distance, and the inclemency of the climate in winter would [offer] almost insuperable bars to the Institution's obtaining any pupils from this part of the country. Although there is the strongest disposition existing here to educate our boys amongst ourselves, I know Southerners would greatly prefer Canada to any place North of Mason and Dixon's line.

Boutwell's³ uncharitable sentiments have unfortunately too many blind followers in his section of the country, for us to feel other than a just repugnance for the man who uttered them and the men who applaud them. I hope [time] will yet heal up wounds which are now kept festering by avarice for undue or illegal gains based upon bayonet reconstruction. If you had had

¹ Hartridge served as chairman of the Democratic State Convention, which met, Dec., 1871, to nominate a candidate for governor; the radical Governor Bullock having fled the State, fearing impeachment for frauds.

² James M. Smith; nominated by the convention above noted, elected without opposition, and inaugurated Jan. 12, 1872. The conservative, white Democracy was now in control of the State again, for the first time since Gov. Charles J. Jenkins had been removed under the Reconstruction Acts, 1867.

³ Geo. S. Boutwell, Massachusetts Congressman, 1863-'69; one of the House managers of President Johnson's impeachment trial; at this time Secretary of the Treasury; an extreme "radical."

your taxes increased as I have had mine, and if you saw as I daily do (taking two dailies printed North) your section of the country misrepresented and abused, you would not wonder that men who claim to have been born and bred gentlemen should feel sore at the existing state of affairs. Of course I refer to the mere Politicians who seek to direct the storm for their own benefit, regardless of what injury it may inflict in its course. Fortunately I know them through the Newspapers only. I have personally received a continuation of the kindness and hospitality since the war, which anterior to it rendered my visits to the North such bright spots for memory to dwell upon, and it has always given me the greatest pleasure to reciprocate them whenever any opportunity has occurred. I am thankful that I have many near and dear friends at the North. No prejudice is felt here against any Gentleman or Lady who observes the courtesies of Society, no odds from what quarter they may come; but we certainly have refused to recognize socially those who come amongst us solely to hold office, fill their pockets, and misrepresent us. I do wish you could spend a winter amongst us. All I desire is that [you] educated and intelligent men should see for yourselves, we have no secrets politically or socially, and are all anxious to work our way out of the poverty which, although the result of the war, has been kept upon us by ruthless and partisan legislation.

I have delayed answering your letter until I could give you authentic information as to what price you might obtain board in Savannah next winter for your family. Savannah, except for House rent, is much more expensive than New York. Provisions, meats, vegetables, poultry are much dearer than any place I know of. The Up country of Georgia is not half so expensive. So that the enhanced expense here is not due to any political complications. This relative difference has always existed; hence your dear Uncle McAllister,¹ and such as I, have always been classed by the up country people as Swelled Heads. Our consolation is that we live better than they do, and cook better, and for eight months in the year have a climate unsurpassed by very few anywhere.

¹ H. M. McAllister. Arnold's comment here is well illustrated by the attacks made upon McAllister when he was Democratic candidate for Governor, 1845; when he was termed one of the "'Swelled Heads' who think the up-country people no better than brutes," etc.

Hotels are extravagant here, as at N. York. Board at good private houses (with lodging) will range from forty to fifty dollars a month. Furnished houses are not to be obtained in the winter. Children of course half price. . . .

*To the Rev. E. M. Cravath,¹ Field Sec., Am. Mission. Asso.²
59 Reade St. N. Y.*

Dear Sir,

Aug. 30, 1872.

. . . It has always been the desire of the Board to take under their Superintendence the education of the colored children, but they have never been able to command the funds. The Board was chartered for the City and County alone but the charter was so drawn that when the State System should be put into operation, the Board should still remain a power and control any funds due the County for educational purposes. The income from the State Rail Road was by Law set apart for this purpose, and there was a sum of money amounting to more than two hundred thousand dollars in the State Treasury belonging to the Educational fund. You must of course be aware of the robbery by the Carpet Bag State Government of all the proceeds of the Road, and in addition, Bullock's Legislature quietly appropriated the cash for their per diem.³ We are now released from the oppression of that government and are looking forward with hope.

On the 14 August, I, as President, addressed an invitation to Mr. Wm. Cleghorn [Claghorn?]⁴ and William Pollard⁵ "to meet a committee of the Board of Education tomorrow evening at 8 o'clock, to take into consideration the subject of providing schools for colored children in the city and county." They were

¹ In charge of both religious and educational work among the freedmen, in the "Eastern Department" of the South, for the organization noted below.

² The American Missionary Association; established before the War by leaders of the Congregational Church, and representing what might be termed the cultural "expansion of New England." It became imbued with abolitionist sentiment, and after the War engaged on a large scale in educational and religious work among the freedmen. As early as 1865, it supported, together with the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, 62 schools, having 89 teachers and 6,600 pupils, in Georgia alone.

³ Gov. Smith reported, 1872, that a school fund of \$242,027, had been taken from the Treasury by the General Assembly in 1870, and certain worthless State bonds deposited in place thereof.

⁴ A negro baker, of Savannah.

⁵ A negro veterinary surgeon of Savannah. Cleghorn [Claghorn?] and Pollard were thrifty men, respected by the leading whites of the city.

requested to bring with them any other of their colored fellow citizens as they might deem advisable. A very satisfactory conference was held and a committee (to be selected by and from the colored persons present) was appointed "to enquire upon what terms and conditions the Board of Education can obtain possession of the Beach Institute¹ for the purpose of education of the colored children in the city. This . . . committee addressed you on the 20th. They have submitted your reply to my consideration. In that reply you refer them to your letter of the 20 July to Mayor Screven, for your terms and conditions, which are in the following words:

"I have the honor to make the following proposition, through you to the proper School Authorities of the City. That if they will employ Mr. A. N. Niles, the Superintendent, and his corps of teachers,² at such salaries as are paid to other teachers in the city schools and make Beach Institute a free public school, we will grant the use of the school building, furniture, and apparatus without rent for the coming year."

There will be no meeting of the Board until the 28th. But as I wish to expedite matters as much as possible I assume the responsibility of addressing you a few words.

The rules of the Board are definite that no teacher shall be appointed by them unless he or she shall have undergone a satisfactory examination before a committee of the Board appointed for that purpose.³ When appointed each teacher is held to be under the control of and subordinate to the Board for his or her conduct as a teacher. Of course the general conduct of every teacher comes under the same category. We have but one Superintendent for all the schools in the city and County.⁴ We have principals for the various divisions, Girls' High School, Boys' do., Grammar School, etc. . . . I risk nothing in saying that the Board would not hesitate to give the preference to those whom you might recommend for Teachers. But they must

¹ A school established c. 1868, by the Amer. Miss. Asso; for the education of freedmen. At this time (1872) it had 731 pupils, exclusive of 145 in the Sabbath-school, and its property was valued at \$12,000.

² Besides Mr. Niles and his wife, there were ten young ladies teaching in the Institute; with two exceptions, all came from New England.

³ The reference here is to Rule No. 13, "Teachers," as given in *Organization, Rules and Regulations: Public Schools for the City of Savannah and County of Chatham*, Savannah, 1867, p. 7.

⁴ W. H. Baker, who also served as principal of the Boys' High School.

submit to the same examination as others, and must expect to be entirely under the supervision and control of the Board. We expect to give the same salaries as to other teachers, proportionate to the duties required of the grade of Studies. I will send a copy of our last report to you. You will then see how we have utilized the Chatham Academy Building.¹ We could make the Beach Institute valuable to its benevolent founders and useful to our colored children and their Parents. . . .

To the Rev. E. M. Cravath

Dear Sir,

Sept. 26, 1872.

. . . I have no fault to find with your rejection of our terms, as that is your undoubted right, but I do object to certain expressions in your letter of the 18th. containing that rejection, as inconsistent with our views expressed to you in my letter of the 30th inst. and approved by you in your letter of the 2nd [?] as to our power and intention to select teachers according to our established rules. In your letter of the 18th you say:

"In consideration of the Educational work that has been done in the City of Savannah by the Am. Miss. Association, and the fact that we offered the school authorities a building and a corps of teachers under whom a high reputation had been secured for the Institution, we regard the terms submitted in my former letter as reasonable and liberal." You further speak of your "arrangements with the teachers *secured for the coming year.*"

Now in my letter of the 30th. August, I told you that the Teachers must be selected by the Board themselves. In your letter of the 2nd [?] you acquiesced in this. In no communication of yours did you state that "arrangements had been made with your teachers for the coming year." It would have been farcical for us to have pretended to examine "a corps of teachers" already cut and dried to our hands.

Had you apprised us of your "*arrangements*" we would have stopped all negotiations with you, as we would certainly have never submitted to such dictation, ignoring alike our powers, and our capacity to select for ourselves.² . . .

¹ The Boys' Intermediate School, and one of the Girls' Grammar Schools, were located in the old building of the one-time Chatham Academy.

² This closed the negotiations between the Missionary Association and the Board of Education at the time; the former continuing to operate the Institute

To Miss Mattie K. Tracy, 1360 Washington St., Boston

Dear Madam,

July 16, 1875.

Yours of the first inst. came duly to hand. You have been misinformed. We have lost [a] teacher by marriage to a colored minister.

We had a mulatress (or rather a quadroon), a very acceptable teacher who was the wife of a mulatto, a well educated man who was the regular Minister of St. Stephens Church, an Episcopal Church, principally composed of mulattoes; who although you New Englanders use the term colored for every shade not white, are as a class better educated and more intelligent than the pure African.

Mr. Atwell has accepted a call to New York and of course his wife goes with him.

Our public schools for the colored population (i. e. for Mulattoes and Black) are separated from those for the whites, but all are under the absolute control of the Board of Education. This is a local board and the funds are derived from the voluntary taxation of the city of Savannah and the county of Chatham. The Board controls the state fund, which is ridiculously inadequate to support such a System of Schools as Savannah has.

Some of the teachers in the colored department are white, some mulatto, one, and a capable one too, coal Black. . . .

Thinking you might be interested in the Status of our Public Schools, knowing how very dim and uncertain are the lights of New Englanders in relation to the real condition of the South, I forward with this a copy of the 9th annual report of the Board.

The vacancy caused [by] Mrs. Atwell's resignation will not be filled until the end of September. . . . Now I must be candid with you. The situations are not as much desired in the colored schools as in the white. Hence we have but few to choose from. But scholarly competency and satisfactory moral character are our tests, not latitude nor longitude.

until 1875; when it was finally taken over by the Board in the manner planned above. The Missionary Association pursued the policy of turning over schools to local educational authorities, when the latter seemed willing and able to administer them.

There is no vacancy in the white School. When there is one we have applicants as thick as Blackberries.

To Wm. Cullen Bryant,¹ Office of the Evening Post,
N. York, N. Y.

Dear Sir,

Aug. 17, 1875.

I long ago laid aside the accompanying copy of Wilde's Summer Rose to send to you, as no one could better appreciate this jeu d'esprit than yourself. The history of the whole affair, as written out by Mr. Barclay constitutes, I think, a real curiosity of Literature.²

My position as Editor of the Georgian in 1834 has enabled [me] to supplement Mr. Barclay's account by a few particulars.

Hoping that you continue to enjoy good health.

¹ The poet and editor.

² The reference is to Anthony Barclay, *Wilde's Summer Rose; or the Lament of the Captive. An Authentic Account of the Origin, Mystery and Explanation of R. H. Wilde's Plagiarism*, published by the Geo. Hist. Soc., Savannah, 1871.

APPENDIX

ADDRESS OF DR. RICHARD D. ARNOLD AT THE FOURTH SANITARY
CONVENTION, BOSTON, JUNE 15, 1860

*Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Quarantine and Sanitary
Convention, and Fellow-Citizens of Boston:*

The first idea which came from the recesses of my memory when the honored gentleman on my left called upon me, in the absence of my venerated, venerable, and respected friend, Dr. Jacob Bigelow, whom I have been accustomed for long years to look up to as one of the lights of medical science, (applause,)—my first thought was of the remark once made by Decatur when he was complimented for his gallantry. He said, "There are many gallant spirits in the navy; all that is wanted is *opportunity*." (Applause.) Now, I am, at this moment, the happy child of Opportunity! (Renewed applause.) The absence of my respected friend, Dr. Bigelow, has most unexpectedly devolved upon me, as the next presiding officer of the Convention, the duty of addressing this large, and may I not say, in words of truth and sincerity, intelligent, and intellectual audience. If I did not feel thankful, at the bottom of my heart, for this opportunity, I would not give utterance to the sentiment with my lips. It is one of the great illustrations of what the pervading spirit of the age accomplishes, wanting a great central head of government, and thank God we do want it! for the central head of a great government is the electrical battery of Despotism, which prostrates everything before it. (Applause.) But we have an independent, self-existing vitality. We show, in spite of the mixture of races that is spread over our Union, that we have always looked up to our old English institutions, and that the basis of that has been Representative Government, (applause,) never the "fierce democracie of Athens." Gentlemen, in my old college days, (and God knows they were long ago) one of the rules of logic was, Never compare dissimilar things. Men running after startling and mystical analogies very often run away from reason and common sense, and may be told, as Agrippa told Paul, "Too much learning hath made thee mad." (Laughter). What comparison is there between a small democracy which could meet where a Demosthenes could address them, and our

wide-spread Union? I want you to look back to our history; I want you to see our origin. I say our great principle is that of local governments, from our townships which yet illustrate here in New England, to our city and State governments, until we have given to the world a great system; we have exemplified, so far, the possibility of governing a great nation upon the representative principle. (Applause.) We have a number of State sovereignties, (don't be afraid, gentlemen; I am not going to shed one drop of the bitter waters of politics here.) (Loud applause.) I am only speaking of the great principle of association, acting by delegated power, and on representative capacity. Gentlemen, we have a saying at the South, where we do not use oars, but paddles, and a fellow goes out paddling himself along in a dug-out, "Let every fellow paddle his own canoe." (Laughter.) Now, I say, gentlemen, whether you steam at the North, paddle at the South, or cross the prairies at the West, "let every man hoe his own row, shinning his own side! (Laughter.) Now, the basis of the prosperity of this Republican Union, which I hope I may be allowed to say, devoutly, sincerely, before Almighty God, I think, so far, has been the most successful instance of self government which he has ever permitted to be shown on his earth; (applause, and cries of "Good," "good!")— I say its basis is the great principle of each State taking care of itself,—the great principle of association. Then we come up as coequals from different States. We have set the example, in the medical association, by the inauguration, fourteen years ago, of that Association. But, gentlemen, there was something behind that. Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures are the three grand bases on which are built the prosperity of a country. I represent agriculture and commerce. Gentlemen, at the South, we are not a manufacturing people; we don't want to be. Probably there are some of you so old-fashioned as to have heard of a certain man named Adam Smith, who wrote once on Political Economy,—and among other new-fangled notions that he illustrated was this: that it was much cheaper to import wine from Oporto, in Portugal, than to raise it in hot-houses in London. Now, I am here the only delegate from Georgia. Quarantine is a matter of much importance, because we have a great port of entry, which is the commercial metropolis of Georgia, and that is Savannah, whose representative I have the honor to be today. (Applause.)

From the moment I read the proceedings of the first Quarantine Convention, which my friend on my right, Dr. Jewell, of Pennsylvania, (applause,) has the honor of having originated, I felt an interest in the subject; and when the time for the second meeting approached, I waited upon the then mayor of our city, and I was appointed a delegate to Baltimore. But that is merely a personal matter. I say that, as a citizen, a man representing the South, a man representing commerce and agriculture, I felt interested in the movement, which, for the first time, I saw had been taken in the right direction to free Commerce from those shackles which had well-nigh crippled her, and would have done so, but that the energies of Commerce are boundless. (Applause.) Whether this should prove our last session, whether we shall be *functus officio* or not, the results of the deliberations of last year have been of incalculable benefit. In my younger days, I had for several years the duty of Health Officer of the city of Savannah imposed upon me, and I used to say, particularly after a certain circumstance that occurred, when an excellent old aunt of mine was quarantined at New York because she had the gout, (merriment) and I said, at the time, the man's diploma, if he call himself a doctor, ought to be torn into bits, and flung in his face; I used to say, I repeat, that I believed the quarantine system, appealing as it did to the worst prejudices and fears of the people, had been productive of the greatest evils to commerce. For years I have had the honor of acting, at different times, in the municipal council of Savannah, and my voice, in public and private, has always been against useless quarantine regulations, and I felt, when I landed upon your shores, although but an estray, a mere waif from the Gulf Stream, that I was following a great principle with you. When I heard the sentiments uttered today in the Convention, and when I read the report of last year's meeting, I thanked God that at last common sense had got ahead, and had gagged and bound abstract theory. (Applause.) Now, the Convention, in addition to quarantine measures, have adopted sanitary measures. Shall I "gild refined gold?" Does not every man feel in his microcosm—that part which, in civilized countries, he carries inside of his clothes—does not every man feel the want of it? Then I say we are not a State Association, nor a National Association, but a world-wide Association; and if I were to choose a design and

motto for this Convention, should it be made perpetual, I should say, let it be the figure of a man extending a wand of help to a suffering mortal, with the motto, "*Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.*"

"Dr. Arnold took his seat amid loud plaudits, which were followed by three cheers for Georgia. The band then played, 'Oh, carry me back to Old Virginia,' which was received with enthusiastic cheers." (*Proceedings and Debates of the Fourth National Quarantine and Sanitary Convention*, Boston, 1860, pp. 107-109.)

On another occasion, during the same Convention, Dr. Arnold was requested to respond to the following sentiment, and made the following remarks: "*Savannah*—A name harmonious and sweet upon the ear, and full of pleasant fancies. May the health-seeking wish that associates her today with Boston, be a type of future mutual study to secure a healthful union of good-will and friendship."

Hon. R. D. Arnold, Mayor of Savannah, on rising to respond, was greeted with three cheers. He spoke as follows:-

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the City of Boston, and my Co-members of the Sanitary Convention: There was an adage extant in former days, which, like a great many other things, has been swept out of existence by the progress of events. That adage was, that "time and tide wait for no man." Now, gentlemen, though we may have got ahead of time and tide, I have to say that, as I belong to that unfortunate class who must go away tonight, the cars wait for no man. Never in my life did I regret that I had to measure the moments that I might remain as I do now. I could wish that I had another hour-glass, and that every sand as it dropped might measure an hour; because I have come from a great distance, representing a city which is particularly interested in commerce as the means of interchanging the agricultural products of the country with the products of the whole world, including Boston and Salem. (Laughter). And I am glad that before I came here the Convention of last year swept away one of the last relics of barbarism,—the infernal restrictions of quarantine. Thank God that was a relic of barbarism that did not belong to our peculiar institution. (Laughter and great applause.)

Much, then, has already been accomplished. One of the most sincere pleasures I had yesterday was, while addressing many of those whom I see here today, to pay a heartfelt compliment to

the gentleman who has just taken his seat, of whom it may justly be said, "*Monumentum se quaeris; circumspice.*"

As another evidence that we are in the line of progress, I will refer to an occurrence which took place in this very room, eleven years ago, when the physicians of Boston entertained the American Medical Association. The culinary art had been exhausted in the preparation of the solids, but the fluids were represented only by Cochituate water.

Tonight we have come to the banquet marching to the inspiring sounds of music, and now (holding up a glass of sparkling Champagne) no bridle is put on our tongues by dipping them in cold water. I give you—

The progress of Boston in sanitary matters, and also in gastronomic matters.

(*Proceedings and Debates of the Fourth National Quarantine and Sanitary Convention*, pp. 127, 128.)

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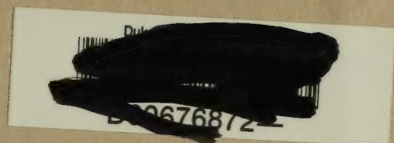
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